THE DEMISE OF DEMON DRINK? PORTSMOUTH PUBS 1900-1950

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Summary

During the first half of the twentieth century, social, political and moral pressures continued to oppose the consumption of drink, with the consequence that both beerhouses and public houses, in particular the former, contracted in number. At the same time, however, a few new premises were built in the growing suburbs. The 1904 Licensing Act introduced an equitable system of compensation for closure, which certainly facilitated the speed of contraction, and the more notorious houses had their licences revoked. During the 1914-18 war compensation continued apace, drinking houses fell under military control and beer supplies were short. In the inter-war years architectural styles changed from the ostentatious to the bland as breweries endeavoured to promote respectability. There was much exterior rebuilding, but it was the German Blitz which, through widespread destruction, was the cause of the most drastic change. By comparison the issue of spirit licences for beerhouses in the late 1940s was an insignificant event.

Cover:
Royal Naval Arms, Queen Street, rebuilt in 1916 by A. E. Cogswell in typical half-timbered style.
Whitbread Archive Collection.

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Introduction

For nineteenth-century society the public house, and its less favoured confrère, the beerhouse, were objects of both adulation and criticism. For the working man, and in garrison and dockyard towns, soldiers and sailors, licensed premises offered a warm, convivial ambience which differed markedly from the harsh conditions of factory, parade ground and man of war. Skittle alleys, billiards, and indeed the music hall all emanated from the pub and beerhouse, while their clubrooms provided an inexpensive setting for social and political meetings of all kinds. Yet drink was held responsible by some for the perpetration of every evil known to mankind from gambling, prostitution and crime to the very poverty suffered by the working classes. Temperance groups, the church and the more socially minded members of the middle class constituted a powerful anti-drink lobby which found political support in the Liberal Party, pledged to reduce the consumption of intoxicating liquors. Opposed as they were to such a movement, the brewers and the Conservative Party were nevertheless obliged to undertake a strategic withdrawal in the final decade of the century, but in the process endowed the Victorian streetscape with one of its finest elements. The brash confidence and eclectic style of the *fin de siècle* public house, its skyline as often as not reflecting the uncertain step of the satisfied customer, in fact presaged a decline in alcoholic consumption which is still being experienced.

The tight control exercised upon the nation's drinking habits by central government, executed locally by the licensing magistrates and the police, was in the nineteenth century manifested in two outstandingly important pieces of legislation, the Beerhouse Act of 1830, and its repeal in 1869. These dates were employed in an earlier study[1] to create a tripartite division of the century, although the separation of the nineteenth century from the twentieth is artificial in the sense that no pertinent legislation was enacted in 1900. The twentieth century witnessed only a single Act of Parliament of comparable stature, the 1904 Licensing Act, rendering inappropriate the use of legislation as a framework for the study of the period down to 1950. More significant as boundaries are the two World Wars, the first giving rise to a reduction in beer production, the curtailment of opening hours and a lull in applications to the justices from 'the trade', and the second generating destruction the like of which had never been before encountered in this country, licensed premises disappearing indiscriminately with other elements of the urban environment. Following the argument, the key dates for this study become 1914 and 1939.

Table 1

Licensed Premises in Portsmouth, 1 January, 1900-1950.

	Public Houses	On-licensed Beer Houses	Total
1900	318	459	777
1910	314	428	742
1920	290	358	648
1930†	286	303	589
1939†	284	256	540
1950†	307 (54 suspended*)	231 (40 suspended*)	538

† From 1921 the figures include 7 public houses and 2 beerhouses in Cosham.

* Suspended licences relate to houses destroyed 1939-45.

Source: Annual Licensing Sessions, press reports.

In many ways the twentieth century was merely an extension of the nineteenth, only the fine details exhibiting variations. Portsmouth public houses and beerhouses, which had numbered some 897 in 1869[2] continued their downward trend, as the totals in Table 1 indicate. The removal of the protection accorded to beerhouses between 1869 and 1904, when they could only be closed on grounds of bad conduct, coupled with their modest facilities, caused them to suffer at the hands of the magistrates to a much greater extent than public houses; the drastic erosion in their number resulted in numerical equality between the two types of hostelry to be achieved in 1936. The licensing authorities saw no reason to change the practice of exchanging several beerhouse licences against a single spirit licence for a new house in the burgeoning suburbs of the town; once again it was Landport and Southsea, where beerhouses had proliferated after 1830, which experienced the bulk of the contraction. The emergence of large breweries dominating the drink trade through the tied-house system gathered force as the advantages of large-scale economies in production and distribution became even clearer, a tendency which by 1950 had reduced the number of brewers to three – Brickwood, Portsmouth United and Young[3] – from the 1900 figure of 15. The 'local' maintained its important role in working class life, even if its numbers were fewer and the arrival of competing forms of popular leisure such as the cinema and commercial football somewhat undermined its allure. And as ever the drinking house represented an interface between the establishment and the lower orders, a theatre on whose stage a series of morality plays was enacted, even if wars and an increasingly democratic society weakened their impact.

Fig. 1 The Location of New Licences for Public Houses and Beerhouses on Portsea Island between 1900 and 1950.

The Pre-War Years, 1900-1914

Table 2

Changes in the number of licensed premises 1900-1914.

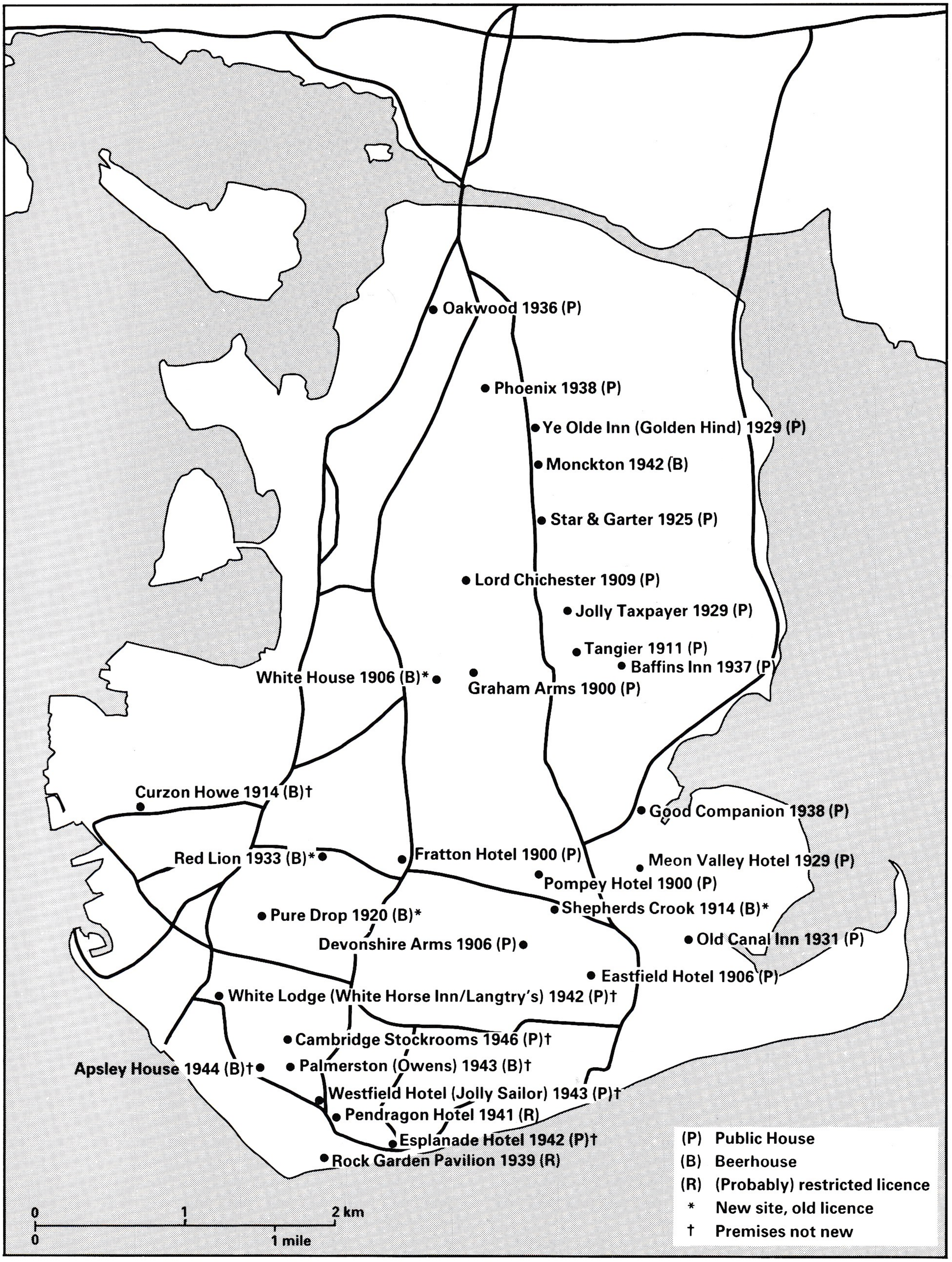
Openings			Closures	
New Public Houses	New Beerhouses	Beerhouse given Full Licence	Public Houses	Beerhouses
7	2*	1	22	82

* This figure represents two beerhouses (*The Shepherd's Crook*, Goldsmith Avenue and *The White House*, Ernest Road) which were rebuilt on nearby sites.

The specific changes experienced in the years preceding the First World War are entirely congruent with the general argument set out above. Table 2 clearly illustrates the overwhelming success of those forces dedicated to the reduction of drinking places, over 100 closing their doors, to be replaced by the paltry total of nine. The principles followed by the licensing magistrates were well exemplified in the opening year of the century, when three new public houses were sanctioned in return for the surrender of nine beerhouses. For *The Pompey*, by A. E. Cogswell in his distinctive half-timbered style, adjacent to the football ground, Brickwoods gave up four beerhouses; for *The Graham Arms Hotel*, George Street, also by Cogswell but in what was for him the little used Victoria and Albert style, the brewer Gibb closed three beerhouses and an off-licence. The remaining beer licences were accounted for by United Breweries' *Fratton Hotel* by another local architect, George Charles Vernon-Inkpen, at the southern end of Fratton Road; this public house was distinguished by its relatively short life, being destroyed in 1941.[4] These and subsequent new licences are mapped in Figure 1. There were many applications for the construction of large new public houses in the then suburbs, supported by architects' drawings, which were routinely rejected at the outset, some being ultimately found acceptable. A hint of the profit to be made is implicit in the offer in 1901 to donate £1,500 to a local hospital were their plea for a new house in Tangier Road, Copnor, successful; in the event it did not prove to be so.[5]

The year 1902 saw a fresh Licensing Act written into the statute book. As part of an attempt to control excessive drinking and other undesirable activities, in the 1880s and 1890s, the licensing authorities had begun to insist on the removal of counter or shy screens which had bestowed considerable privacy upon customers; such structures were held to be responsible for drunkenness among women, which was 'an undesirable feature of the 1890s'.[6] The 1902 Act made further strides in the same direction, vesting in the court the power to require structural alterations as a condition of the renewal of a licence. At the 1903 Licensing Sessions it was made clear that all screens and partitions on bar counters were to be removed, and that ground glass was unacceptable.[7] The 'trade' rued the fact that since the shy screens revolved on the counter, to remove them would require new counters, which, at a cost of £20 each, would cost Portsmouth brewers £6,000. The suggestion that clear glass be inserted in lieu was rejected on the grounds that the barman would be prevented from ascertaining whether customers were intoxicated.[8] The legislation gave powers for the removal of side and back doors through which prostitutes and bookies' runners were known to scuttle on the arrival of the police. Since contemporary wisdom had it that women who passed more than a few minutes in a drinking house were prostitutes, to avoid prosecution after a given period prostitutes simply left by the back door and re-entered at the front. The police responded to this by keeping watch on both side and front doors, and in this way in 1907 were able to secure the closure of the *Victoria Tavern* in Queen Street. Additional evidence advanced was that six women known to be loose found inside had not entered the premises in the half-hour before the police inspection, and must therefore have been awaiting custom.[9] The Act also required architectural drawings of new houses to be submitted, arguably creating work for local men and adding to the quality of the streetscape.

The Annual Licensing or Brewster Sessions were at this time a forum for a quite remarkable confrontation between brewing interests on the one hand and a whole range of social groups on the other, the magistrates and the police acting as arbiters in what were sometimes acrimonious proceedings. The 1904 sessions were typical. The Rev. B. Wilson, vicar of Portsea, representing the Citizens League, objected to the renewal of 21 licences, and other ecclesiastics argued similarly in respect of their own parishes. The League deplored the establishment of Telephone Call Offices in licensed premises since this provided additional incentive for visits, and a plea was made for the control of the introduction of gramophones 'which caused considerable crowds to collect round windows and doors'. The Portsmouth Board of Guardians believed that a large proportion of the pauperism in the borough was caused directly or indirectly by excessive drinking, and recommended a reduction in the number of licences as a preventive measure. The British Women's Temperance Association, whose deposition was reported under the banner 'To Abolish Barmaids', averred that since only young girls were employed as barmaids, they were particularly exposed to 'many temptations', quite


Oakwood 1936 (P)
Phoenix 1938 (P)
Ye Olde Inn (Golden Hind) 1929 (P)
Monckton 1942 (B)
Star & Garter 1925 (P)
Lord Chichester 1909 (P)
Jolly Taxpayer 1929 (P)
Tangier 1911 (P)
Baffins Inn 1937 (P)
White House 1906 (B)*
Graham Arms 1900 (P)
Curzon Howe 1914 (B)†
Good Companion 1938 (P)
Red Lion 1933 (B)*
Fratton Hotel 1900 (P)
Meon Valley Hotel 1929 (P)
Pompey Hotel 1900 (P)
Shepherds Crook 1914 (B)*
Pure Drop 1920 (B)*
Old Canal Inn 1931 (P)
Devonshire Arms 1906 (P)
Eastfield Hotel 1906 (P)
White Lodge (White Horse Inn/Langtry's) 1942 (P)†
Cambridge Stockrooms 1946 (P)†
Apsley House 1944 (B)†
Palmerston (Owens) 1943 (B)†
Westfield Hotel (Jolly Sailor) 1943 (P)†
Pendragon Hotel 1941 (R)
Esplanade Hotel 1942 (P)†
Rock Garden Pavilion 1939 (R)
(P) Public House
(B) Beerhouse
(R) (Probably) restricted licence
* New site, old licence
† Premises not new
0 1 2 km
0 1 mile

apart from health problems resulting from the heavy work and long hours. Barmaids did not apparently share this view, for in 1907 a 700 strong deputation lobbied the Home Secretary to retain their jobs.[10] From the bench it was reported that the police had visited 66 houses whose structural condition was found to be bad, of which 25 would be required to produce plans for improvement. The chairman commented that 'it was greatly to be regretted that certain licensees were permitting the exhibition of pictures of a suggestive nature in automatic machines', a practice that was to stop. One of the magistrates, Cdr Bamber, remarked that the 'Pleezall' automatic machine installed at the *Alma Arms*, Highland Road, was both reprehensible and nasty, and declared himself mystified as to its presence since it did not make money.[11] The Chief Constable's report was of a factual nature, stating amongst other things that seven men and eight women had been placed on the 'Black List', and therefore debarred from entry to licensed premises, and that Inspectors and Sergeants had made no less than 25,490 visits to licensed premises in the past year - a clear indication of the Establishment's belief in the need to control working class habits.[12] Alcoholic issues apart, the Sessions were also interested in signalling the arrival of thoroughly twentieth century artifacts: the telephone, gramophone and the 'automatic machine'.

Although architects were usually employed by the breweries to introduce to the Court plans for new houses and for alterations to existing premises, after the 1904 Act, which required maps to be drawn up indicating the disposition of licensed premises and dwelling houses, they were also used to present argument in these fields. A fee may have been involved, but since both Cogswell and John E. Rake were preference shareholders in United Breweries,[13] perhaps their participation was sometimes additionally motivated. As they represented more than one brewer at any one licensing session, architects could find themselves defending brewers they had earlier been attacking. Thus in 1907 Rake, for Peters' application for a new public house at the junction of Gladys Avenue and Northern Parade, argued that 98 houses had been built within the last year within 300 yards of the proposed site. C. W. Bevis, an architect representing the other brewers in the neighbourhood, countered with the evidence that only 12 dwelling houses had been erected within 250 yards and that Pike Spicer's *Avenue Hotel* was but 263 yards distant. Rake then spoke for Pike Spicer's three applications for new houses, all of which were rejected.[14]

The drink issue had become an important matter of national politics during the fading years of the nineteenth century, culminating in the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1896.[15] The first legislative outcome was the 1902 Act, but much more significant was the 1904 Licensing Act which addressed the fundamental problem of compensation for licensees whose licences were refused on grounds of redundancy. The temperance lobby might have been reluctant to endorse compensation, but it was certainly equitable to reward licensees for the loss of monopoly value, that is, the difference between the licensed and the unlicensed value of the premises,[16] especially since publicans had to pay 'to go in', and since monopoly value was included when assessing death duties and tax on legacies.[17] Compensation payments were to equal the monopoly value which related to the preceding eleven years' profit in the case of beerhouses, and the preceding twelve years in the case of public houses,[18], the cash being raised by the trade on a graduated basis according to the size of house. The Liberal opposition dubbed the legislation the 'Brewers' Endowment Act', while the publicans obliged to pay the levy called it the 'Mutual Burial Fund'.[19] However, brewers were required to pay the monopoly value on new houses to the Excise as a condition of the grant of a licence. The *Portsmouth Times* was in no doubt about the value of the Bill and the untenable position of the temperance lobby, arguing that 'only practical proposals can be carried into effect, and these apostles of the impractical have been, and are, the greatest enemies of temperance reform'.[20]

In order to facilitate the compensation exercise, the borough was divided into Redundancy Areas, the police being given the task of preparing a description of each house; a single Redundancy Area was considered each year.[21] The closure criteria employed were eleven in number, and were both wide ranging and bizarrely overlapping. The first three criteria distil the flavour: that the licence is not required to meet the want of the neighbourhood; that the licence is not required for the character and necessities of the neighbourhood and locality; that the situation of the premises is neither convenient nor desirable.[22] Such criteria obviously begged many questions, even if considerations such as structural condition and ease of police supervision were possibly less contentious. Judged against these criteria, a number of houses were referred by the magistrates to the Compensation Committee, which handed down decisions on the premises to be compensated together with the sums involved. Owners or tenants were at liberty to appeal to the Inland Revenue as final arbiters. In the first year of operation of the scheme, 1905, the sum of £7,141 13*s*. 4*d*. was raised from the licence holders, including those with beer and refreshment licences,[23] but objections were raised by the police to 20 premises, very many more than could be appropriately compensated. Ultimately only five were declared redundant, but at least drinking places

Devonshire Arms Hotel, Devonshire Avenue, built to the design of Long's resident architect J. J. Cotton in 1906.
Whitbread Archive Collection.

were being reduced other than as a result of prosecution, and indeed the breweries in the main acquiesced in the court's decision. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the compensated properties were often not exemplary. *The Globe* beerhouse, Oyster Street, seems to have been effectively a common lodging house, its trade restricted to tramps who paid 4*d*. a night for a bed, yet who managed to consume 197 barrels of beer in 1904. The Havant Street public house *Navy and Friends*, was hosted by a retired naval stoker, but was associated with 'loose women', sailors and marines; during the year only 140 barrels of beer were drunk, but some 2,220 bottles of spirits were sold, while dinners were served daily and five bedrooms could be let.[24]

The year 1906 saw the introduction of the other aspect of the compensation scheme, for two new full licences were granted, thus triggering the payment of monopoly values. George Coffin, a builder, secured a seven year licence for *The Eastfield Hotel*, designed by Cogswell; the monopoly value was set at £600, payable in six equal annual instalments.[25] Coffin had proposed a free house, but within a fortnight this status had changed, for he sold the property, together with Cogswell's plans and contract, to Portsmouth United Breweries, much to the annoyance of the bench, and many lobby groups.[26] The same financial terms were set for Long's *Devonshire Arms Hotel*, to designs of the brewery's resident architect, J. J. Cotton.[27] The solicitor for the firm, Mr J. E. Pink, remarked sardonically

that the brewery 'would like to have identified it [the public house] with the Licensing Act of 1904 and called it the *New Monopoly Value*', a sally which was greeted by laughter from the court.[28] In an attempt to restrain drinking, opening hours were restricted to 8am-10pm on weekdays and Saturdays, and to the almost nominal 12.30-1.30 and 8.30-9.30 on Sundays, a far cry from the almost unrestricted hours of the late nineteenth century.[29] The income derived from monopoly payments was, however, only modest since full licences were sanctioned for but two other houses in this period. Lion Brewery was successful in their 1909 application for the mock half-timbered *The Lord Chichester*, the monopoly value being set at £750 payable over six years; the opening hours were fixed as described above. Whether Mr Pink's argument that failure to grant the licence would encourage 'that most pernicious trade, beerhawking, which did not exist in older areas where domestic wants could be met ... by means of a jug' swayed the bench is not clear. Cogswell's *The Tangier* for Portsmouth United Breweries licensed in 1911, was assigned an even higher monopoly value of £900, prompting a comment in the court that if the licence was not renewed, the cost of converting the premises to three houses would nullify profits.[30] *The Tangier's* Arabic tile designs may have been distinctive, but the use of green faience for the ground floor ushered in a style to be much used by 'United'.[31]

Compensation payments were divided between the brewer, who in the majority of cases owned the premises, and the tenant, who was rewarded for the loss of his 'going-in' payment to the previous tenant. In those cases where the details were reported, it appears that tenants received between one-sixth and one-eighteenth of the total compensation, depending on the duration and status of their tenancy. Of the six houses compensated in 1907, *The French Maid*, Chandos Street, received £1,445, of which £240 went to the landlord, resident since 1905 and paying £240 to go in, and £1,205 went to Long the brewer; at the other end of the spectrum was the *Buckingham Head* beerhouse, Buckingham Street, where the tenant in 1898 paid a mere £10 to go in, and received £55 compensation in contrast to the £721 10*s*. 0*d*. received by the landowner and the £240 10*s*. 0*d*. which went to the Winchester Brewery Co. as leaseholders.[32]. In only a few cases did the landlord receive less than he had paid to take possession, although without knowing the precise nature of the tenancy it is impossible to comment on the landlords' overall profit or loss. Equally, it is difficult to offer informed remarks on the value of compensation to the breweries; certainly the temperance view was that compensation was indeed generous and they would have made lower payments and spread them over a larger number of redundancies. The presence at the Licensing Sessions of the influential Sir John Brickwood may have swayed the magistrates. Not only did he point out the contribution of his houses to 'Imperial Taxation' to engender support, but he would introduce an element of jocularity into the proceedings, possibly for the same reason. Having remarked in 1906 that the *Henry the Eighth*, Church Path North, generated £134 13*s*. 3*d*. in taxes, he was then confronted with the information that the house had suffered a conviction in 1897, to which he replied, 'I'd forgotten it, and I hoped that everyone else had', drawing laughter from the assembly.[33] The house was duly compensated to the tune of £1,420.[34]

Owners feeling aggrieved over the amounts as compensation for the surrender of a licence were entitled to appeal to the Inland Revenue as an independent arbiter, but this seldom seems to have been resorted to. From time to time licensees and brewers objected to the size of the levy for the Compensation Fund, and in 1910 spectacular success was achieved by 15 refreshment rooms, including those at Fratton railway station and South Parade Pier, in their appeal for reduced payments.[35] Since they were never recommended for compensation their case was self-evident. Notwithstanding this reduction in money levied, compensation payments continued to remain high, and since it was impossible to reduce the level when it was agreed that a large number of houses in a Redundancy Area justified compensation, the strategy adopted was simply to postpone payment. At the 1913 Licensing Sessions objections were raised by the police to some 34 houses in Portsea; of these it was agreed that 23 should be compensated. In fact only seven were so treated, the other 16 having their licences temporarily renewed since there were insufficient funds to declare them redundant;[36] the consequent trading uncertainty led to complaints of 'planning blight'.

Compensation payments, however, came perilously close to being drastically reduced with the election in 1906 of the Liberal government, derided as 'the Cocoa Party' by its opponents. Prime Minister Asquith introduced a Licensing Bill requiring compensation to be reduced by half and for 32,000 licences to be terminated within 14 years; it was thought that 105 of the 123 houses in Portsea would be closed. But it was not a Portsea house which made national headlines in this affair, but *The Coach and Horses*, Hilsea. This public house stood on Crown land and was Crown property, Portsmouth United Breweries paying an annual rental of £125 to the War Department. The Liberal government decreed that all its drinking premises be auctioned, and in 1907 *The Coach and Horses* was knocked down to Sir William Dupree, chairman of Portsmouth United Breweries for £9,500 before the contents of the Liberal Licensing Act were known. An MP,

Horatio Bottomley, raised *The Coach and Horses* issue in the House, accusing the government of cheating, arguing that United Breweries would never have parted with £9,500 had it been known that the licence had only 14 years to run. Dupree himself said he thought the property was worth only £2,500 without a licence.[37] Even the clergy opposed the Bill, and the Rev. Bruce Cornford's opinion, voiced in the Town Hall, was unequivocal: 'The Secretary for War has taken 10,000 pieces of gold from Sir William Dupree. Let us drive a Coach and Horses through the Bill and leave 10,000 pieces of gold on the floor of the House of Commons'. In the event, the Lords threw the Bill out by a substantial majority.[38] To make a point, Dupree commissioned Harry Furniss to design a mural depicting a highwayman waylaying a stagecoach.[39] Above the picture were the words 'The Coach and Horses, a Tale of Highway Robbery', and below it:

> "Asquith, Highwayman, 'Stand and Deliver!'
> Coach-Owner, 'But I have just paid your pal Haldane[40] for this lot'.
> Highwayman, 'Clever Haldane! He knew I was coming along.
> You may keep the coach but hand over the horses!'"

When *The Coach and Horses* was rebuilt in 1931 by Cogswell, two copies of the mural were made in tiles and affixed to outer walls, where they survive. *The Coach and Horses* is one of the few licensed premises in Britain where such an overt political statement is made, although after nearly a century its impact has faded.

As Table 2 makes crystal clear, the great thrust of the years down to the First World War was the wholesale closure of beerhouses and, to a lesser extent, of public houses. A substantial majority of these closures – some 71 of the 104 – received compensation payments on redundancy, testimony to the central importance of the 1904 Licensing Act. If the period 1905 – 1914 is considered, compensation assumes even greater significance, for the 71 compensated closures must be measured against a total loss of 95 houses; in other words, compensation accounted for three-quarters of all closures between these years. Prior to 1904 most closures were effected through the surrender system as we have seen, and indeed some nine beerhouses were removed on this basis between 1900 and 1903. Subsequently the brewers usually offered to surrender old licences in their applications for new licences but the magistrates chose to ignore this where new sites were involved. The surrender system lived on, however, in the upgrading of a beerhouse to a public house, and also in the grant of off-licences; nine houses were closed by this means. Two of these, both beerhouses, the *Oak Inn*, was an incident occurring in 1899 when Sir Baker Russell placed all of Brickwood's houses out of bounds to soldiers as a reprisal for the action of the landlord of a Southsea house requiring two sergeants to leave the lounge bar. In calling the police to remove the social deviants, the landlord was merely endeavouring 'to keep the lounge exclusive'. 'A new military dictatorship has been established in Portsmouth' proclaimed *The Evening News;* 'This is tyranny' roared the *Hampshire Telegraph* as the short lived crisis escalated beyond belief.[48] More muted was the public response to the Admiralty's attempt to close the *Albany Hotel*[49] in Commerical Road. At the first Licensing Sessions, the naval representative, Cdr Paton, incredibly came without evidence, pleading that 'Either the Admiralty had made a mistake or were misinformed as to the date', but he was able to tell United Breweries that the case rested on 'a general charge on the subject of the women'.[50] By the time of the next meeting United Breweries had been in correspondence with the Admiralty and had given Belgrave Street, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Somers Road, were given up by the Lion Brewery in 1910 to secure the transfer of the spirit licence from the *Old Point Tavern*, Broad Street to *The Polar Star* beerhouse, London Road, a location of much greater market potential.[41] In 1910, Peters bought the *Abyssinia Arms* beerhouse, Marylebone Street, which was about to be closed as redundant and surrendered it together with another beerhouse, the *Frederick the Great*, Brunswick Road, to bargain for a wine and spirit off-licence for 11, Haslemere Road.[42] In fact, six houses, including two public houses, were given up between 1909 and 1912 for off-licences, representing a comment on the relative profitability of the latter.

Since the number of drinking houses, and particularly beerhouses, of which there were proportionately more in Portsmouth than in the nation as a whole,[43] was closely related to the town's dockyard and garrison function, it is to be expected that matters military played a prominent part in licensed premises' activities. It is more than likely that the constant brushes between town and garrison were actually part of a much deeper resentment of the kind known to exist earlier in the early nineteenth century.[44] When visiting *The Old White House*,[45] Milton, the Licensing Committee were incensed when a Marine Sergeant was rude to them, and one wonders whether the level of annoyance had to do with the drinker's occupation.[46] Many houses had their licences withdrawn since they were known to be the resort of 'sailors and loose women', while the *Blue Pump* beerhouse in Bonfire Corner was refused a renewal in 1910 since Detective Sergeant Shepherd 'found the landlady and another woman sitting on the knees of two stokers'.[47] Why it was relevant that the clients were stokers is not made clear. More fundamental

instructions to 'doorkeepers' to refuse admittance to women of doubtful character. The Admiralty which 'had only the interests of the men of the Royal Navy at heart', agreed to withdraw its objection, but reserved the right to object the following year, 'and the brewers having been warned would only have themselves to blame'. What United Breweries thought of this ultimatum it is difficult to say, but doubtless commercial considerations overruled resentment. Had the premises been closed perhaps the press would have displayed greater interest; as it was, protest was not at the Admiralty but at United Breweries, a lone voice in the gallery shouting 'shame' when the licence was renewed.[51]

Next in numerical importance after surrendered licences were instances in which the magistrates saw fit to refuse the renewal of licences, some eight cases being recorded. The main reason for closure was prostitution which came under the 1904 Act's umbrella term of 'ill conduct'. The circumstances of police surveillance leading to the closure of the *Victoria Tavern*, Queen Street, in 1907 have been discussed above, although there was additional evidence that the landlord's daughter, if not the landlord, was providing women with furniture, suggesting that an income other than from the sale of alcohol was being derived from prostitution.[52] Other houses convicted of 'ill conduct' were: the *Blue Lion*, Queen Street in 1908, the *Bull's Head Tavern*, Queen Street, in the following year, the *Blue Pump* beerhouse, Bonfire Corner, in 1910, the *Woodcutters' Arms* beerhouse, Landport Street, in 1913, and the *Victoria Tavern*, Commerical Road, in 1914. In the latter case, a police raid discovered the landlord in bed and apparently recovering from a drinking bout; the house had previously been visited by Sergeant Lock, described as being both in plain clothes and disguised.[53] The *Clarence Hotel*, High Street, met the same fate in 1912 for the same reasons but via a successful prosecution under the 1910 Licensing Act which meant automatic forfeiture of the licence.[54] Meeting its end via a different route, although still being regarded as 'ill conduct', was the *Royal Arms*, The Hard, whose premises were raided by the police on 29 October 1909; the landlord and a bookmaker were subsequently convicted of allowing betting to take place on the premises. It was also noted that there were thirteen licensed premises within 193 yards of the house.[55] It should, however, be emphasised that evidence of betting did not invariably result in closure. Arguing in 1910 that the *Tribune Arms* beerhouse, Arundel Street, had a previous conviction for betting, that there was a rear entry to the house known to be used by a bookmaker's runner who sat in a back room collecting betting slips taken over the bar by the landlord, and that betting slips had been found when they raided the premises, the police urged that the house be shut. Despite these weighty charges, the Bench was not persuaded, contradictorily regarding the character of the landlord as a positive attribute - he had apparently increased trade by some 40% since he had taken over - and being mindful of the importance of the house to Abbey & Co., the Brighton based brewers.[56] In retrospect, it does seem that a good deal of police, and indeed of court, time was spent monitoring activities which today would be regarded as innocuous. A case in point were the proceedings against the *Crescent Arms* beerhouse in Kingston Crescent in 1909. The police had unearthed a game known as 'puff darts' in which the licensee played darts against customers for cigarettes and beer. The defendant was able to show that since the game was not actually played for money it did not conflict with the law; he had also been aware of a plain clothes police presence owing to the length of time officers were able to spend in the house simply observing the scene.[57]

The Finance Act of 1910 raised the licence duty to half the annual rateable value of the premises,[58] and must have caused brewers to think about their more marginal properties, especially those unlikely to be compensated. Certainly the provisions of the Finance Act exacerbated the difficulties being experienced by small firms, and led in the same year to the purchase of Lush & Co. by Portsmouth United Breweries. Lush had been complaining in 1909 of the 'great strain' they were experiencing, and in 1910 blamed the Liberals for this plight, remarking that 'The decrease in trade is due to the government harassing the trade by every means in their power. The enormous and unfair duty placed upon spirits has materially affected the profits.'[59] Budgetary provisions were also said to be the rationale for the acquisition in 1910 of the prestigious firm of Pike Spicer by Brickwoods,[60] who had also bought the Lion Brewery earlier in the year. Brickwoods, with 245 houses, had become the dominant force in Portsmouth's 'trade'. Five public house licences were voluntarily surrendered during this period, but only the closure in 1914 of the *Bakers' Arms* could be possibly attributed to market forces; it was 200 years old and in need of rebuilding, but it was also on a prime site in Commerical Road opposite Edinburgh Road.[61] The demise in 1906 of the *Guernsey in Distress*, Warblington Street, was due to 'structural deficiency';[62] that this was a long-standing problem can be deduced from the appending of '*in Distress*' to its original name some 14 years previously. The *Ship Worcester* at Point simply ceased trading in 1908,[63] whilst in nearby East Street both the *Orange Tree* and the *Ellington* closed in 1913, Camber Docks benefitting from their demolition.[64] A further reduction of one beerhouse took place in 1913 when the licensee of the *Victoria Tavern*, Victoria Street, successfully

asked that his house be changed to an off-licence.[65]

However much there may have been an inexorable contraction in the number of drinking houses, there was at the same time a consistent effort by the brewers to improve their properties. The root cause of this was to add to the attraction of the premises and thereby encourage custom. Additional space was generated by the purchase of adjacent properties as in the case of *The Crown*, Somers Road, and *The Magpie*, Fratton Road, in 1901, the architect Albert Edward James Guy providing the designs in both cases. Interior alterations, in particular to the bar, must have provided a steady, if mundane, flow of work for local architects. In 1908 alone Cogswell was authorised to undertake alterations to bars in *The Suffolk Arms*,[66] the *Western Hotel*, St. James' Street, and *The Coach and Horses*, Hilsea, quite apart from work on the back door of *The Black Lion*,[67] Milton, and provision of tiles for the front of the *Mile End Tavern*.[68] Complete rebuilds were less common because of the costs involved, but some were substantial, such as W. J. Walmisley's *Emperor of India*, Commercial Road, in 1904, Cogswell's *Still Tavern* in Kent Street in 1905, and T. W. Cutler's monumental *Queen's Hotel* in 1904. Less grand in scale, but nevertheless interesting cameos were Cogswell's *The Mediterranean* beerhouse, Stamshaw Road, rebuilt in 1904, his *The White House* beerhouse, fashioned from two terraced houses in Ernest Road in 1905,[69] and his delightful terra cotta beerhouse, *The Shepherd's Crook*, rebuilt on the south side of Goldsmith Avenue in 1914. More prosaically, stables were added, lamps fixed above entrances, water closets installed and kitchens improved.[70] Approval was given for building work to be carried out in 33 properties in 1906, by no means an unusual number. Such was the magnitude of work being undertaken in Commerical Road in that year, that it was noted that trading was continued on the pavement within contractor's hoardings,[71] thus avoiding the loss of valuable custom. Approval was sought in 1909 for the installation of children's bars by 12 drinking houses, although no alcoholic beverages were to be served.[72]

Structural refurbishment was sometimes associated with a change of name, although the usual reason for the assumption of a new identity was probably magisterial pressure to reduce the number of houses bearing identical names in order to minimise confusion. That there were twelve *Prince of Wales* and ten *Royal Oak* houses in 1900 is evidence of the problem. The purchase of Jewell by Brickwood in 1899 occasioned the removal of a number of duplicated names, although the timing may have been coincidental. The impact of rearmament upon a dockyard and garrison town was a recurrent theme in the selection of a name. The *Wheelwrights' Arms*, Stamshaw Road, became *The Mediterranean*, replete with a tableau of warships against the background of Gibraltar on tiles above the entrance. The *Royal Oak*, Highland Road, was translated to the *Three Marines*, and reflecting the times, the *Hearts of Oak*, Marlborough Row, was transformed into the *Torpedo*, while the *Blue Anchor*, Twyford Avenue became *The Admiral Drake*. More jingoistically, the *Northbrook Tavern*, Thomas Street, was christened *Dreadnought*, but the tiny, pedestrian house belied its name. With war approaching United Breweries were wise to substitute *King George V* for the *Sailor's Farewell* in Bishop Street in 1913. The hope that the new form of power would transform receipts was evident in the switch from the *Old House at Home*, Fratton Road, to *The Electric Arms*, and from the *Brewery Tap*, Kingston Road, to *The Tramway Arms*. But in spite of these thrusts, the age old recourse to nirvana was clearly evident. The *Olive Branch*, Church Path North, was translated to *The Mars*, the *Queens Head*, London Road, went further afield to reach *The Polar Star*, and achieving the ultimate, the *Prince of Wales*, Surrey Street, became *The Ideal.* Perhaps the decision by Pike Spicer to change the *White Swan*, Kingston Road, to *The Whitehall* was an attempt to placate or identify with the government, but in either case it struck an odd chord.

The First World War and the Two Following Decades, 1915-39

Table 3

Changes in the number of Licensed Houses 1915-1939.

Openings			Closures	
New Public Houses	Beerhouses granted Full Licences	New Beerhouses	Public Houses	Beerhouses
9	3	3*	43	137

* This figure represents a beerhouse licence granted to a refreshment house (*The Curzon Howe*, Queen Street), and two beerhouses (The *Pure Drop*, Middle Street, and the *Red Lion*, East Street, Southsea) transferred to new sites because of road improvements.

The declaration of war in August 1914 was indubitably an important historical landmark, and indeed the exigencies of hostilities had a very considerable impact upon the supply of beer, its price and, not least, the number of customers available. Yet in another sense the First World War saw no difference in the process of change that had been established beforehand and, moreover, one which continued during the 1920s and 1930s – a process that is illustrated in Table 3. The war of attrition against the

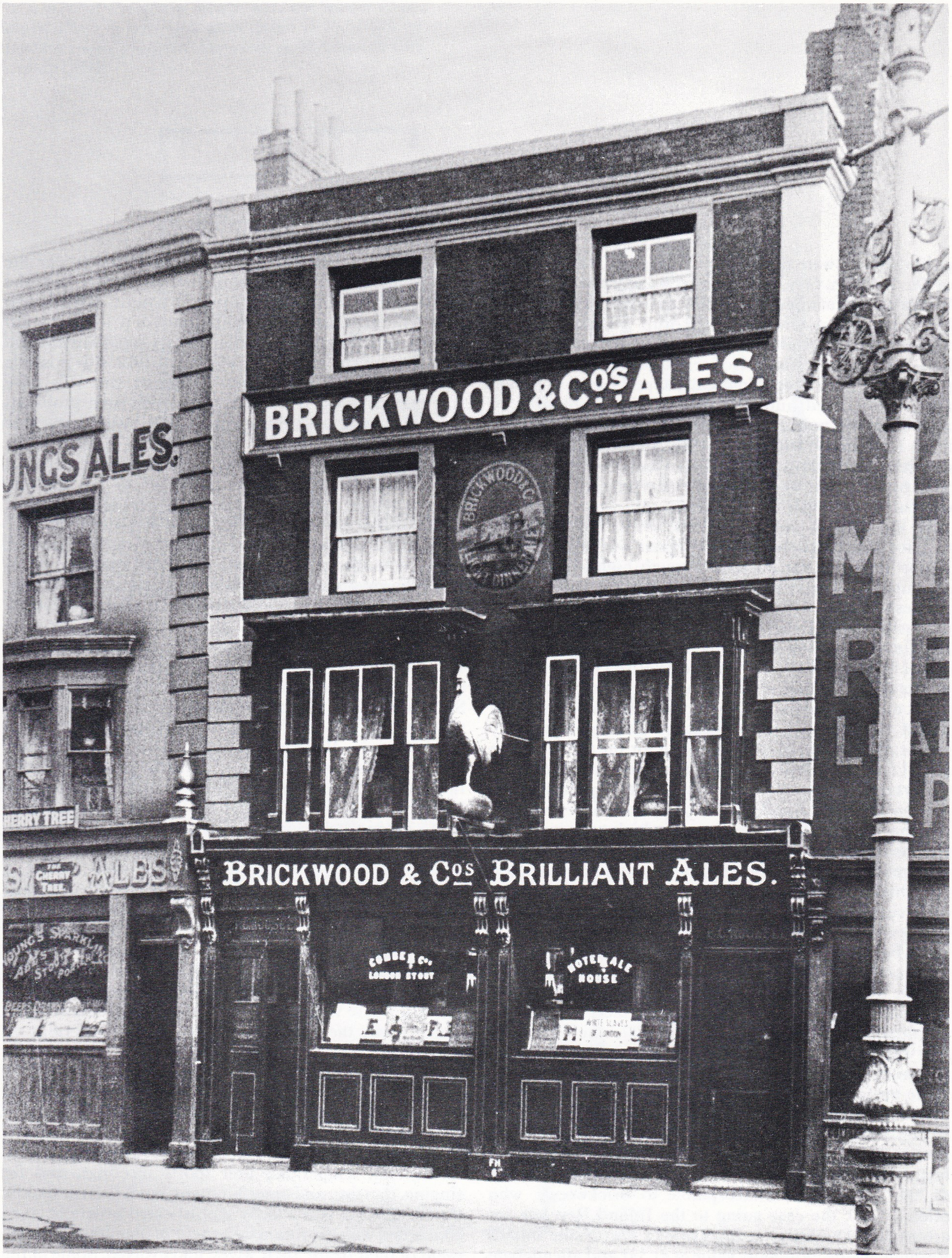
The Cock and Bottle, Queen Street. A beerhouse which was closed in 1914 under the redundancy scheme. Its partly visible neighbour, The Cherry Tree, was declared redundant in 1933. Both buildings still stand.
Whitbread Archive Collection.

number of licensed premises, within the framework of the redundancy and compensation schemes, continued to provide the focus of change, the wider events of 1914-18 giving rise to no noticeable deviation from the pattern of closure. Between 1915 and 1919 some 33 houses were shut, a figure close to the average of 36 for the five-year periods between 1915 and 1939.[73]

Shortly after the declaration of war, the Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restriction) Act empowered licensing justices to restrict the sale, supply or consumption of alcohol, while the Finance Act of 1914 provided for rebates in favour of licensees affected by the emergency regulations.[74] On 14 August 1914 the Assistant Provost Marshal ruled that all the licensed premises in Portsmouth were to close at 9pm instead of 11pm; a few days later on the 28 August, all drinking places were declared out of bounds to military personnel until 12.30pm, following 'the foolish generosity of the public who thought it their duty to press refreshments upon the men of the new Army'.[75] The curtailment of the town's evening social life must have given it a very different ambience, and the Rev. Canon Garbett, the vicar of Portsea, writing in the *Portsmouth Times*, was of the opinion that war had brought three changes: the exclusion of the public from part of the sea front, the darkness of the streets at night, and the early closing of the public houses. The reduction in intemperance was a welcome result of early closing, he said, but added that it was also the consequence of 'the increased and systematic visiting (of houses) by ladies';[76] presumably he had in mind other than those of interest to the police. Then in 1915 the government set up the Central Control Board within the aegis of the Defence of the Realm Acts to deal with what was seen as the drink problem in naval, military and munitions manufacturing districts. Influenced by those members of the cabinet who embraced the temperance cause, at one stage total prohibition was considered, a strategy fulsomely supported by King George's pledge of abstinence in his proclamation of 6 April 1915: 'By the King's command, no wines, spirits or beer will be consumed in any of His Majesty's houses after today'.[77] At cabinet level, such over-reaction was voiced by Lloyd George who claimed 'We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink, and as far as I can see the greatest of the three deadly foes is Drink'. No less than havoc, it was averred, was being caused by whisky. It seemed as though the war was being used to push through one of the Liberals' most cherished tenets, and eventually even the great demagogue and his acolytes had to climb down.

A rather more subtle approach was to increase the duty on beer, to achieve a reduction in consumption and an increase in government income. In May 1914 the duty was 7*s*. 9*d*. a barrel, a level at which it had stood since 1900; in November 1914 it had almost doubled to 15*s*. 3*d*., but in April 1915 it soared to 24*s*. causing a leader writer to ask why the government did not simply state the truth, that the tax was designed to generate cash rather than to keep the working man sober.[78] Inevitably the bulk of these increases was passed on to the licensees and then on to the customers,[79] as were the rising costs of materials, which occasioned an increase of 6*s*. a barrel in November 1916, and of labour. In January 1917 rising labour costs were recognised by the military authorities in Portsmouth who allowed the brewers to charge an additional 8*s*. 6*d*. per barrel.[80] A different ploy was to reduce the supply of materials, and in March 1916 it was agreed to decrease grain consumption by one-third.[81] The brewers reacted to this by brewing weaker beer, to the delight of Lloyd George who had urged 'the encouragement of lighter ale of the innocuous sort sold on the Continent'.[82] The appointment in December 1916 of a Food Controller placed further constraints upon production. Sir John Brickwood[83] met the Home Secretary in February 1917 to discuss the parlous state of malt supplies, but to no avail, and local brewers were of the opinion, erroneously as it happened, that small houses would have to close. One could but sympathise with Sir William Dupree's comment that it was 'a pity the government did not take the same view as the French who served their troops with one hot meal at least a day and a pint of red wine, and the French troops were in the pink of condition'.[84] Certainly Tommy Atkins would have wholeheartedly agreed. The upshot was that from April 1917 Portsmouth's houses were rationed to about half their pre-war supplies.[85] In the nation as a whole per capita consumption of beer fell from 27.8 gallons in 1913, to 10.0 gallons per head in 1918,[86] when beer duty reached 50*s*. a barrel.

Even further tightening up of the opening hours in Portsmouth as a military area was effected in February 1916; houses were now restricted to 12 noon to 2.30pm and 6pm to 9pm, one result of which was that the bottle trade expanded to allow consumption outside licensed hours.[87] Credit was prohibited, as was the practice of 'treating', that is to say the purchase of a round of drinks by one person who might thus buy alcohol for those who would not otherwise have been able to consume through penury. Even a husband was forbidden to buy his wife a drink, and Gates remarks that 'it is not conceivable that a custom which lay at the very roots of British good-fellowship could be abrogated by word of command'.[88] Penalties for transgression were severe: up to £100 and six months hard labour for customers, while landlords had their houses closed for one or two weeks for the first offence. During 1915 some eight public houses and seven beerhouses were temporarily closed by the military authorities, and two


BRICKWOOD & Co's ALES.
BRICKWOOD & Co's BRILLIANT ALES.

public houses were placed out of bounds.[89] The landlord of *The Yorkshire Grey*, Commercial Road, appears to have been a persistent offender for the Control Board closed his house between 4 June 1917 and April 1918 for allowing treating.[90] These multifarious measures do seem to have had the desired effect. Notices appeared in windows proclaiming 'No Beer', 'Sold Out', 'Open Again at Seven' and even 'Closed until Friday',[91] while the number of arrests by the police for drunkenness fell dramatically from 1,135 in 1913 to 109 in 1918. Unfortunately at the outbreak of war naval and military victims of intoxication were handed over by the police to the services, making it difficult to establish the real situation.

In the light of the impact that drink was perceived to have upon national fibre, coupled with the need to import grain for the purpose through highly dangerous sea lanes, it is hardly surprising that wartime applications for fresh licences were not numerous. The Commissioners of Customs and Excise considered that the time was not ripe for the granting of new licences, quite apart from the impossibility of knowing what legislative changes might be made that would affect monopoly values. Striking a patriotic note, Portsmouth United Breweries declared they would only make new applications as were absolutely necessary, and the Mayor, speaking for the Bench at the first Licensing Sessions after the declaration of war, remarked that it would be unwise to press applications.[92] And so it proved. Applications for alterations fell sharply too, the total for 1916 being four, of which two concerned the installation of WCs; the identical total applications were made in 1917 and 1918. The concomitant reduction in architectural work may have been behind the straightened circumstances of A. E. Cogswell's brother, John Henry Cogswell. The latter had worked for his brother for 28 years, but was nevertheless found redundant in November 1915, and was without work until March 1916, when he started work with a local brewery. A government edict designed to conserve materials and men caused the termination of his contract in April 1917, when Cogswell *frère* was declared bankrupt.[93] Skirmishes still occurred on the monopoly value issue, as earlier fixed term licences came up for renewal, brewers pressing for longer rather than shorter periods to remove an element of uncertainty. In considering *The Lord Chichester*, granted a seven year licence in 1909, the magistrates agreed eventually to a further licence for six years, with a monopoly value of £1,200. This proved unacceptable to Brickwoods, who offered £950, the case going to the Inland Revenue for arbitration. Doubtless to Brickwood's horror, the Inland Revenue set the monopoly value at £1,331 and after debate the brewery was pleased to settle for the sum originally proposed by the Bench.[94]

A notable feature of the closures effected under the compensation scheme during the war years was the particularly high number of public houses. Slightly less than half the houses declared redundant possessed a full licence, which, as Table 3 indicates, is a much higher ratio than that for the larger period 1915 to 1939. It is possible that commercial constraints posed by the war were responsible, but it is difficult to see why such problems impinged more on public houses than beerhouses. One issue thrown up at the time was the difficulty the Compensation Authority was beginning to experience concerning the selection of premises to be declared redundant, not a problem in the early days of the scheme. For instance, the Redundancy Area considered in 1917 embraced Durham Street, Grosvenor Street and Warwick Street in Southsea. Despite the nine beerhouses on its 4½ acres, the area, which comprised working men's dwellings, was described by the police Inspector as 'a very respectable district indeed'. The problem was that there were no objections to the character of the houses, rather that there were simply too many. The same policeman positively eulogised over the *Royal Edward* beerhouse in Grosvenor Street, remarking that 'all the women were very respectable, they were all wearing hats'.[95] The licensee of the *Stratford* beerhouse in Warwick Street, as an ex-serviceman, appeared resplendently clad in uniform, although the favourable response he elicited was more likely to have been the news that Eldridge Pope had bought the house for £3,700 in the not too distant past.[96] Of the nine houses, only three were renewed (including the two mentioned above), and six respectable premises were closed, a situation which could have hardly obtained a decade previously. The relatively paltry sum of £265 compensation for the closure of the *Wonder* beerhouse, Grosvenor Street, indicates the small level of trade. In contrast, the previous year had seen the record compensation payment of £7,211[97] for the *Royal Marine Artillery Arms*, Highland Road, a figure many times the normal pay-out, and one which raises the question whether the normal rules on redundancy had been suspended.

Conceivably in their eagerness to disclose at least a morsel of something not entirely to the houses' credit, the police produced details at the 1917 Licensing Sessions of the existence of a wide variety of clubs based on licensed premises. Clubrooms had long been used for trade union, intellectual, temperance and sports meetings, and for singing, dancing and entertainment, but it is clear that by the First World War a fairly sophisticated system of clubs concerned with the financial benefit of members, or in the event of their death, their wives, had evolved. Some of the clubs bore similarity to private insurance schemes, and others, which provided for sick benefit, were analogous to

national insurance, and it says much for the sense of responsibility of those patronising drinking houses that an incipient welfare system was in place before the state fully accepted this duty. The majority of the 349 in existence in 1917, however, seem to have been thrift clubs, the proceeds being distributed at Christmas and at other times, all relatively innocuous it might be thought. But some of the clubs had rules which were calculated to boost alcohol sales: 6*d*. was to be spent in the pub or beerhouse on share-out night; each member was to receive 3*s*. in spirits at the end of each year; auditors received 1*s*. in refreshment; or admittedly a once and for all jamboree, members were required to spend 2*s*. 6*d*. in the drinking house at the end of the War. The Bench were far from happy at these disclosures, nor were they enamoured with the finding that 60 clubs prosecuted their business in the bar itself, that in 150 instances the entrance to the clubroom was through the bar, while 58 conducted their business in kitchens, living rooms and storerooms.[98] Worse still, some clubs met on Sundays. The latter were ruled out of order in 1917, Sir William Dupree being heartily in favour of the move, and in 1918 the existence of a club was made conditional upon the provision of an entrance to the clubroom other than through the bar.[99]

Closure through redundancy may have dominated the war years, but a few houses ceased trading for other reasons. In 1916 the *Ship Kent Tavern*, Highbury Street, and the *Vine Tavern*, Lombard Street, were voluntarily given up by Brickwood, possibly victims of the undoubtedly difficult commercial times. The following year the *Bricklayers' Arms*, St James' Street, had its licence withdrawn on the grounds that the licensee had 'knowingly permitted it to be the habitual resort of women of doubtful character' and that 'they had been allowed to remain thereon longer than was necessary for the purpose of obtaining reasonable refreshment'.[100] The *New Inn*, Marylebone Street, which had been closed by the Central Control Board in April 1917, was refused a licence in 1918 for allowing drinking after hours in a back room, for treating, and for permitting 'men in a drunken state to be put to bed with their clothes and boots on'.[101] *The Magnet*, Telegraph Street, must have been considered fortunate to have its licence renewed, for treating had been observed, women of 'bad character' were known to use the house, and the urinal was used by both sexes.[102] Potentially rather more lethal was the rifle range at the *Dorset Ale House*, Waltham Street, since it doubled as a passageway used by the landlord and family; renewal was made conditional upon its removal.[103]

No sooner was peace declared than brewers began what was to become a consistent theme running through the inter-war years, the attempt to secure houses in outer suburbs of Copnor and North End. Applications commenced in 1920 and two were from Portsmouth United Breweries and one from Long; all were refused, a response which was itself to become standard, and which later caused the brewers to take a hard look at the system. Then, far from assisting the brewers, postwar legislation took the Central Control Board as its model and permitted opening hours were reduced to eight, credit sales were prohibited, and privileges accorded to *bona fide* travellers were withdrawn by the 1921 Licensing Act. A petition from 90 Portsea licensees called for a 5pm opening 'to cater for the needs of the dockyardmen on their way from work', but the brewers prefered houses to open and therefore close later.[104] By 1922 when the duty on beer had been raised to 100*s*. a barrel, more than twelve times its pre-November 1914 rate, one could but sympathise with Mr Frank Brewer, the president of the Portsmouth and District Wine and Beer Retailers Protection and Benevolent Association, who rued the high taxes on beer, high rates charged on properties and trading hours less than half those of the Edwardian era.[105] Yet as the temperance lobby was quick to point out, in 1922 the sum of £1,842,704 was expended on alcohol consumption in the borough.[106] It was not until 1925 that approval was finally given for a new public house, *The Star and Garter*, Copnor Road, designed by Cogswell in the wholly unimaginative style of the inter-war period and which had the same ground floor green faience work earlier employed on *The Tangier*. The magistrates ignored the offer to surrender no less than eight other licences worth £10,700, and instead granted a two-year licence with a monopoly value of £530.[107]

Doubtless because of the difficulties they were experiencing in securing new sites as the town marched steadily northwards, in 1927 Portsmouth brewers began to consider their collective Brewster Sessions strategy. In order to weaken the opposition to their case and as a gesture aimed at 'the present constitution of the recently elected Bench' they decided not to give advance publicity of their intention to withdraw their applications for transfers at the Brewster Sessions.[108] The success of the ploy was questionable, for although the following year Brickwoods did secure approval for the undistinguished in all but name *The Jolly Taxpayer*, Eastbourne Road, on the transfer of the *Shovellers' Arms*, East Street, and surrender of four other licences, the Bench rejected seven applications for new sites at the same time.[109] Certainly nothing was achieved in 1927. That brewers were discussing collective policy suggests that the objections they raised to each others' applications in court were nothing more than a formality, perhaps aimed at placating opposition lobbies. However, 1929 saw the sanction of *The Meon Valley Hotel* in Meon Road, again architecturally pedestrian, for United Breweries, and also for *Ye Olde Inne*, Copnor Road. This

latter property, a sizeable, mock half-timbered house in the style of an Edwardian residence, was unusual in that it belonged to a local builder and alderman, E. H. Privett.[110] When the application was first tabled in 1928, the Bench remembered the outcome of the previous approval for a free house, that for *The Eastfield Hotel*, put up by another builder, George Coffin, who promptly sold out to United Breweries.[111] Possibly Mr Privett's aldermanic position was an issue at the second time of asking.

The extension of suburbia made it difficult to resist the grant of more licences in the 1930s, although many more applications were made than were acceded to. *The Old Canal Inn*, Shirley Avenue, received a licence in 1931, United Breweries continuing the use of green faience. The same firm received permission for *The Oakwood* in 1935, but eschewed the green motif and used concrete pilasters and a stone pediment instead. In the same year Brickwoods received permission for the transfer of the licence from the *Mitre Tavern*, Kent Street, to the *Baffins Inn* in Tangier Road, a creation archetypally 1930s with metal framed windows and powerful string courses above them. The transfer of the licence of the *Marmion Hotel*, Marmion Road, to *The Phoenix*, Torrington Road, was sanctioned in 1937. The last of the new inter-war houses was Brickwoods' *The Good Companion*, Eastern Road, licensed in 1938 as part of an exchange of land with the Corporation of the site of the *Cressy* in Cross Street;[112] like *The Phoenix*, it made no positive visual impression. In 1939 United Breweries secured the grant of a licence for a site on the corner of Eastern Road and Hayling Avenue, but by the time that war was declared only the foundations had been built; wartime conditions rendered continuation inadvisable and the site was eventually abandoned.[113]

The architectural blandness of so many new, and rebuilt houses of the 1920s and 1930s is no accident, nor is it that architects were necessarily aping other contemporary models. On the contrary it owes everything to the image the brewers were trying to inculcate. As early as 1920 Sir John Brickwood had outlined his philosophy: what were required were 'big houses in the busy part of town where people can sit in family groups round small tables and have brought to them an evening meal ... with refreshments either alcoholic or tea or coffee, and listen to music'.[114] In place of the brash vitality and unashamed allure of the late Victorian and Edwardian drinking house, brewers generally came to believe that public house attractions should be of the sedate and self-respecting kind, calculated to discourage over-indulgence and racy behaviour. In short a place 'where the reputable citizen can not only be seen himself, but can bring his wife, if the occasion should arise'.[115] These views were entirely congruent with those expressed in the 1932 Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing, which stressed the importance of 'decent, pleasant and comfortable surroundings', arguing that 'the conditions in the best types of improved public house today are a direct discouragement to insobriety'.[116] The pub had, by 1939, lost its architectural identity. Gone were glazed brickwork which self-cleaned when it rained, faience, enamelled mosaics, ornate towers, oriel windows, and *art nouveau* lettering. But Portsmouth was fortunate, for one commentator believes that the combinations 'could be extremely attractive with many of the finest examples (in England) to be found amongst the pubs belonging to Brickwood in Portsmouth'.[117] Much of this was due to one man, Arthur Edward Cogswell, who died in 1934; even after more than half a century, a good deal of his contribution to the city still remains. His known work from 1900 is set out in the Appendix.

Because rebuilding was much more of a continuous process it provides eloquent evidence of the timing of the new architectural era. Cogswell's elegant *The Ship Anson*, the Hard, rebuilt in 1922, with its timber work, faience and terrazzo lettering, lay firmly within the earlier period. And so others similarly. *The Cabman's Rest*, Hyde Park Road, reconstructed for the Petersfield brewer Amey in 1922, made use of black and green faience, embellished by an oriel window. *The Mars*, Church Path North, was adorned with glazed brick and ornate lettering, bearing all the hallmarks of Cogswell, in its 1923 rebuild. To an even greater extent, *The Florist*, Fratton Road (1923), with its half

Baffins Inn, Tangier Road, built in 1937, its ground plan being unusual, especially since this was not determined by the shape of the site.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

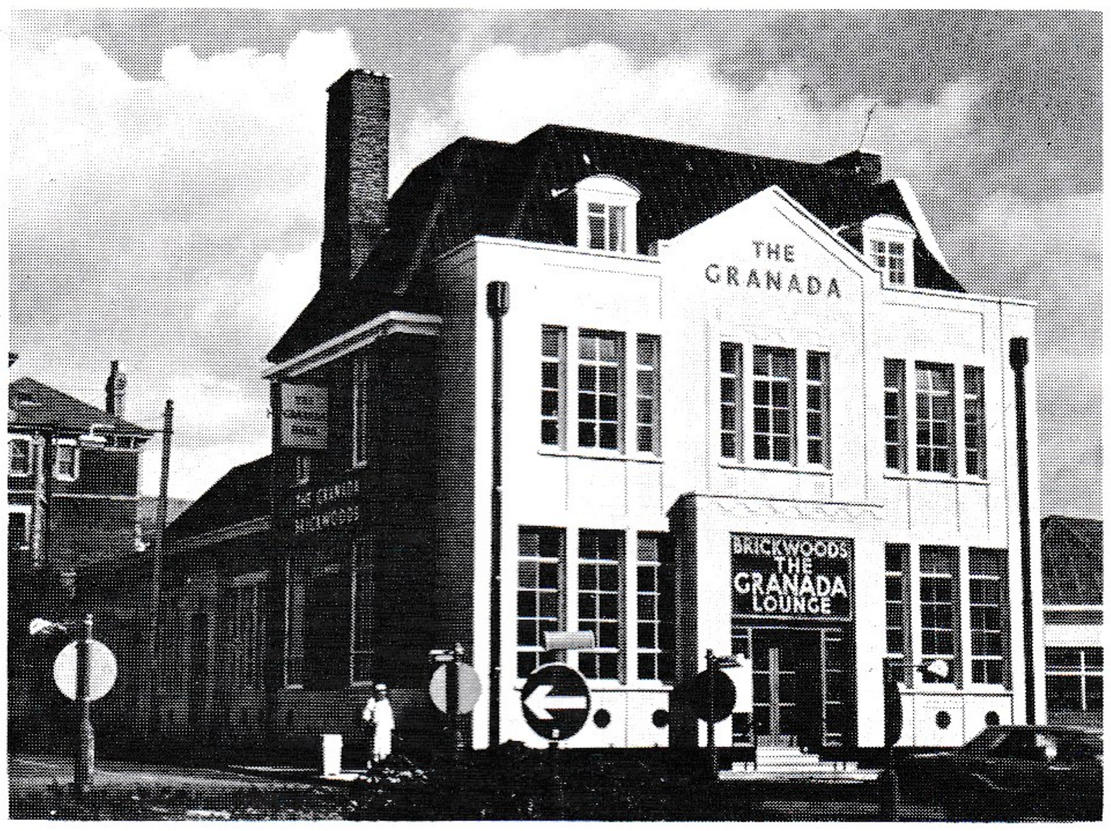
The Good Companion, Eastern Road, opened in 1938 and exemplifying the bland architectural features associated with the period. The provision of a large car park was a novel feature. Photographed in 1946.
Magistrates' Court Collection.

timbering, lettering and 'witch's hat' tower, was traditional Cogswell, as was the 1925 rebuild of *The George and Dragon*, Kingston Road, although the design dated from 1913. Chocolate coloured faience was used at *The Florence House*, Florence Road, in 1924, and at *The Electric Arms*, Fratton Road, in the same year. But 1926 heralds a brief period of transition, for in that year the *Trafalgar Arms*, Fratton Road, was rebuilt, its ground floor making use of white artificial stone pillars, its first storey being of brick with a central stone pediment and a parapet above a cornice. In other words it is too ornate for later buildings yet does not mesh with earlier styles. By 1930 *The Old Oyster House*, Locksway Road, in anodyne unadorned brick, proclaims the new style, as do the *Museum Gardens*,[118] Fratton Road, which received a new front in 1932, *The Jameson Arms*, Church Road (1934), and the *Havelock*, Crasswell Street (1936). White artificial stone, redolent of so many cinemas, is taken much further in rebuilds in main thoroughfares, being used for the ground floor façade of *The Tramway Arms* (1933), *The Elms*, Elm Grove (1936),[119] *The Admiral Drake*, Twyford Avenue (1936), *The Granada Hotel*,[120] Granada Road (1937), and for the extension to *The Dial*, Crasswell Street (1938). Much less well known was *The Victoria*, Palmerston Road, rebuilt in this style in 1939, but a victim of bombing only two years later. An excellent example of the genre is *The Clarence Gardens*, London Road (1937), where the entire fascia of the ground and first floors is made in this material. That white artificial stone was also regarded as squeaky clean, to use a modern idiom, by later generations, may be adduced from its retention by the offices of the Hampshire Building Society which came to inhabit *The White Hart*, Kingston Crescent, rebuilt in 1938. Brewers evidently regarded artificial stone as suitable for urban as opposed to suburban environments; this may well have been correct, but the outcome was some incredibly bland suburban architecture.

While photographic records for the exterior of drinking houses are plentiful, this is unfortunately not so for interiors. However, surviving plans do at least allow generalised comment to be made on the utilisation of space and in particular the shape of the bar counter during

Trafalgar Arms, Fratton Road, rebuilt in 1926 and the first Portsmouth pub to make use of artificial stone, to very good effect. Photographed in 1981.
Philip Eley.

The Granada Hotel, Granada Road. The 1937 rebuilt front here eschews the use of brick; artificial stone dominates all. Photographed in 1981.
Philip Eley.

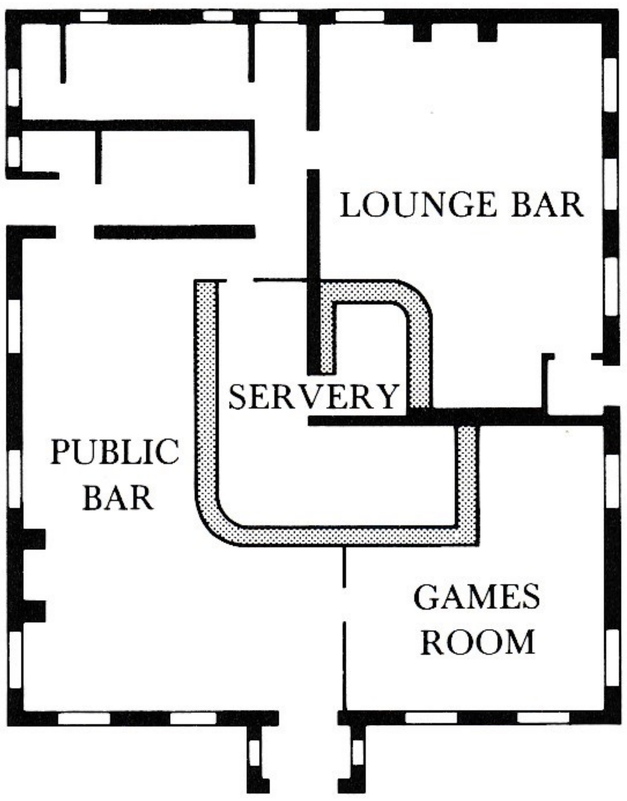


the 1930s. The dimension of the plot itself was an important overriding consideration and accepting that any classification system is blurred at its edges, it is possible to recognise two distinct plot shapes: square and rectangular. The most logical method of attending to the needs of as many customers as possible on square sites was to have a series of bar counters placed centrally forming an approximate square, serving each of the various bars. *The Old Oyster House* illustrates the principle very well, with the public bar, games room and lounge arranged round bar counters very nearly square in plan. Being a little older, *The Florist* had a counter devoted to the bottle and jug trade, and despite the kink in the counter at *The Swan Hotel*, Copnor Road, caused by the bay at the front of the house, the same solution was employed (see Fig. 2). Alternatively, the bar counter could be elongated on the sides parallel to the front of the house, with smaller wings at each end. Such a strategy was adopted at *The Shearer Arms*, Shearer Road, each wing here accommodating tiny bottle and jug counters only 3′ 6″ wide; the saloon was accorded a minuscule counter behind the main counter. A third possibility, exemplified by the *Eastfield Hotel*, was for the bar counter to be set into one corner.

Rectangular sites (see Figs. 3 and 4) seem to have generated a greater variety of responses than those outlined above. Firstly, the bar counter could be placed centrally, one of its sides being notably longer than the others, rendering it similar in principle to the second design for square plots. *The New Roebuck*, New Road, falls into this category. Secondly, a U-shaped bar counter could be located centrally, but towards the main entrance of the house; this left a sizeable area unserved by a counter, as happened in *The Royal Exchange*, Fawcett Road, although this was a tiny property. Thirdly, the bar counter might be set against the long wall, a strategy well suited to especially narrow plots so shaped through expansion by acquisition of neighbouring property. At *The Derby Tavern*, Stamshaw Road, customer space was divided between the lounge and public bars, a private bar only 5′ wide and a bottle and jug a mere 2′ 6″ wide, but sufficient enough for boys and girls to collect the family's rations.[121] This design was almost certainly by Cogswell. Similar were the *Jubilee Tavern*, Jubilee Terace, the *King George*,[122] Queen Street, *The Diamond*, King Street, and *The Cambridge Arms*,[123] Highland Road. In the case of *The Unicorn*, Fratton Road, the off-licence counter was brought forward, breaking up the linear form of the counter.[124] Fourthly, where plots were of more generous proportions, two bar counters could be centrally placed lengthwise. At *The Clarence Gardens* it did not prove possible to have two bar counters throughout the length of the public house owing to the shape of the building, and at *The Albany Hotel* the counter at the entrance was aligned diagonally across the room. And finally, two bar counters could be inserted across the width of the house, effectively dividing it into two parts; instances of this strategy were to be found at *The Wellington Hotel*, High Street, and *The Golden Eagle*, Fawcett Road.[125]

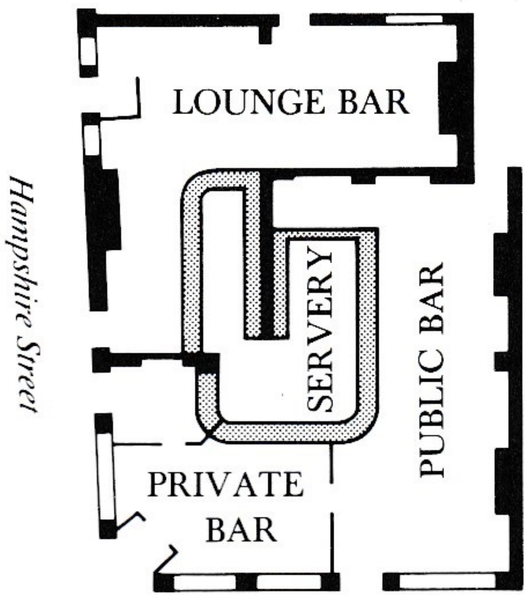
The advent of new architectural styles should not, however, disguise the large number of closures which were effected between the wars, some 154 in total, of which 30 were public houses and 124 beerhouses. A few, ten in all, were closed following the transfer of their licence to another property owned by the same brewer, as has been noted above in a number of instances, but by far the greatest number ceased trading having been found redundant and compensated. Payments under the scheme continued at about £7,000 per annum, and between 1919 and 1939 the sum of £154,869 was paid out.[126] It was the availability of compensation funds rather than the quality of the houses in Redundancy Areas that caused the numbers closing each year to vary, so that all five houses declared redundant in 1931 had to be held over to 1932 when a total of ten were closed. On average seven houses were shut each year. Perhaps as an indication of the need to effect city-wide comparisons to ensure the selection of the most appropriate premises for redundancy, in 1936 the entire city became a single Redundancy Area,[127] although this had effectively been the case since 1932 when the brewers were asked to submit proposals, a point taken up below.

Fig 2. Interior Designs of Houses sited on Square Plots. Source: Plans of existing layouts drawn in the 1950s when alterations were proposed. Deposited in Portsmouth City Records Office.



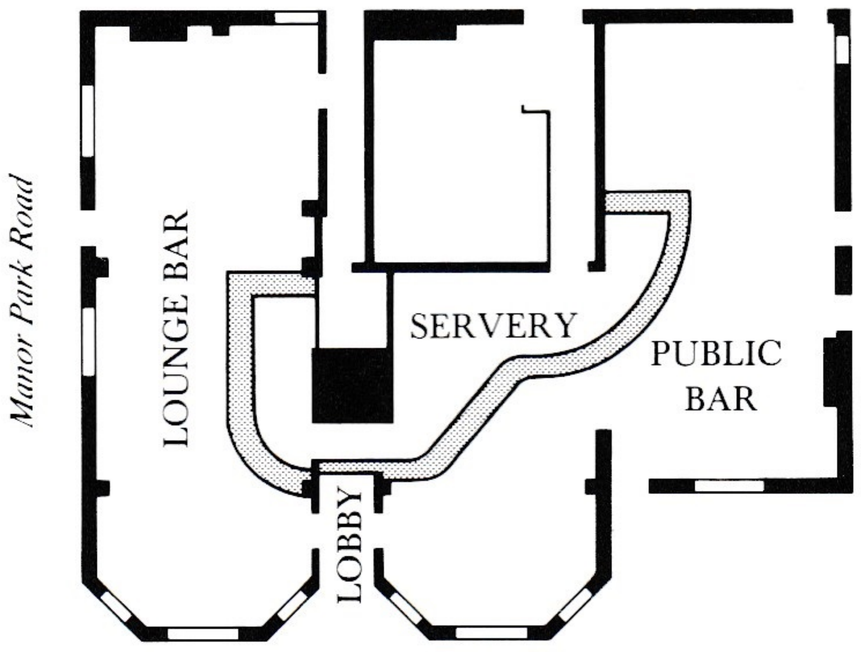
Locksway Road

The Old Oyster House



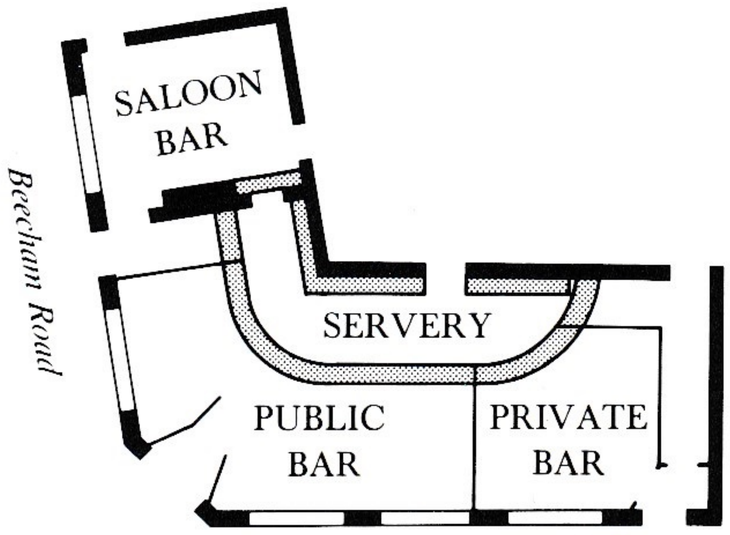
Fratton Road

The Florist



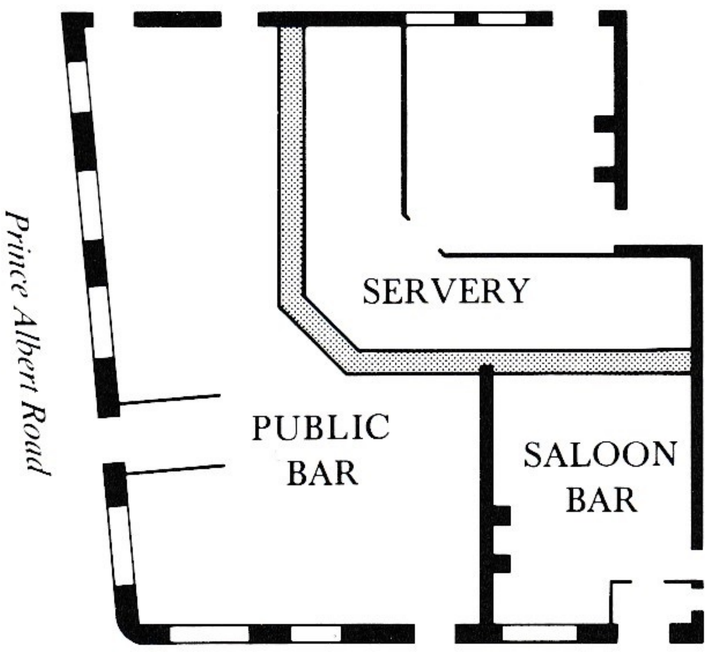
Copnor Road

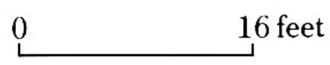
The Swan Hotel



Shearer Road

The Shearer Arms

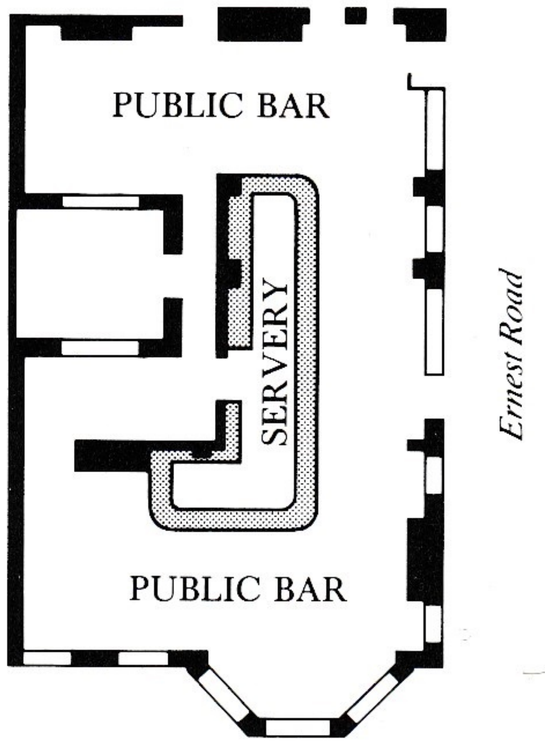




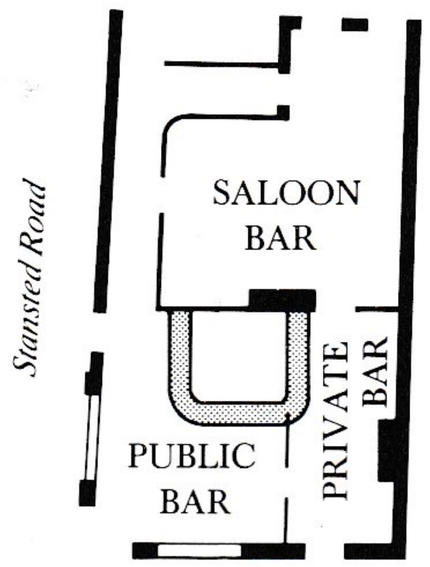
Eastfield Road

Eastfield Hotel

Fig 3. Interior Designs of Houses sited on Rectangular Plots.
Source as Figure 2.

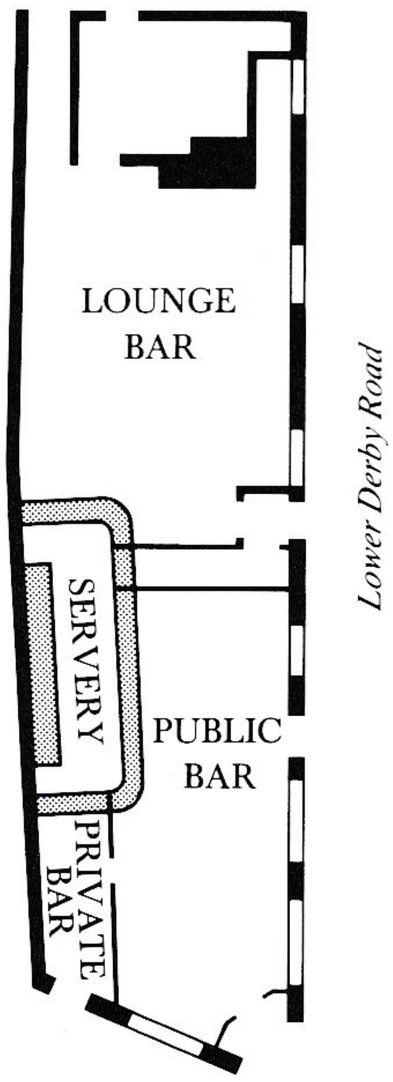


The New Roebuck

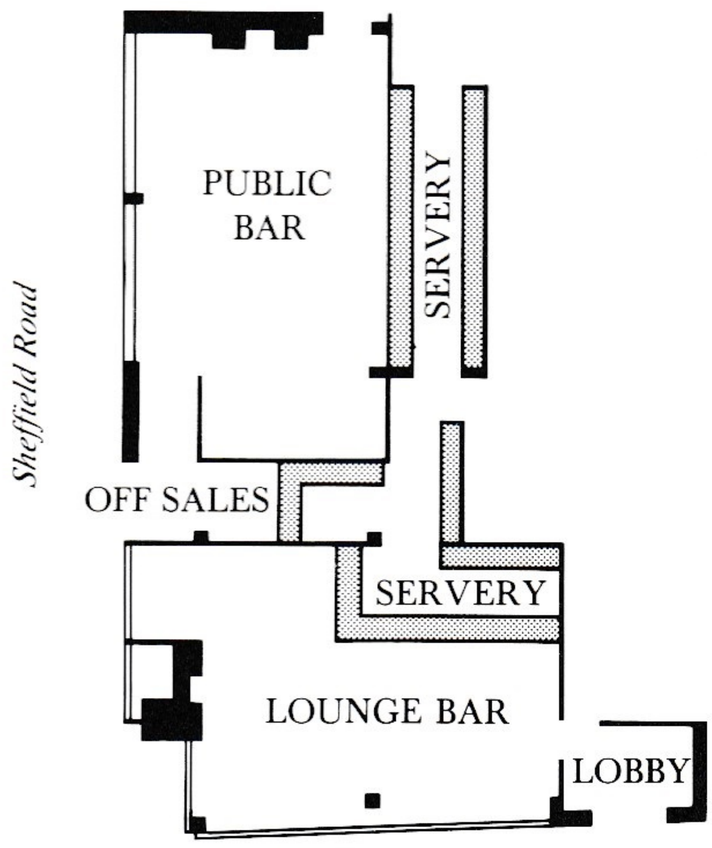


The Royal Exchange

0 16 feet



The Derby Tavern



The Unicorn

It will be recalled that in the late 1920s, the brewers began to debate strategies regarding new applications; associated with this were discussions on how redundancies might more equitably be shared among firms trading in Portsmouth. In 1929 the merits of the system obtaining in Brighton were considered. There brewers had arranged with the justices to relate the number of houses compensated each year to the number of houses owned by each firm. Despite the revelation that small firms could rely upon another brewer selling them a property were they called upon to relinquish a house, there was opposition to the scheme from Eldridge Pope, Peters, the Kemp Town Brewery and Blake.[128] Doubting the life of the compensation scheme, Long's argued that it was preferable to give up 15 houses in five years rather than 30 over ten.[129] In the event the voluntary redundancy scheme failed to achieve adequate support and was shelved.[130] Perhaps the magistrates had been entertaining similar thoughts, for in 1932 they suggested that the brewers make proposals as to which houses were to be offered for closure, suggesting a target of six. In return the brewers offered nine, allowing the Bench to make the final selection. The nine properties were made up in proportion to house ownership: Brickwood with 231 houses offered four, United with 158 three, Long with 70 one, and Youngs and Peters with 62 houses offered one.[131] At the Brewster Sessions the nine houses were considered for redundancy and five were compensated, two each belonging to Brickwood and United and one to Long. In 1933 the brewers' proposals were once again translated into reality, save that this time all nine premises offered were compensated.[132] Disagreement nevertheless continued between the brewers, for understandably firms like Gale, Mew Langton and Eldridge Pope felt they were being discriminated against by having to offer a house so early under the new system, although Eldridge Pope stated that they might be prepared to put forward a house provided the compensation was in excess of £2,000.[133] In the event their *King and Queen*, Oyster Street, was compensated. By contrast Peters agreed to contract to buy a house off another brewer provided compensation was received.[134] The larger brewers were eventually able to prevail, for in 1937 Peters-Young and Blake both had properties compensated.[135] For reasons that are unclear the voluntary redundancy scheme foundered after the 1938 Brewster Sessions, and in 1939 some 25 properties were put forward for possible closure.[136] Subsequent to 1933 press reports of the Brewster Sessions provide details of sales and sums payable by the licensees on take over, but there is a noticeable lack of comment of the kind formerly provided by the police on the quality of the houses. It is thus justifiable to wonder whether the police were involved in the redundancy process at all, in which case a once important arbiter had been removed from the system.[137]

Once an important cause for closure, ill-conduct came to play a muted role in the inter-war period. As with architecture, so society was becoming more respectable, and indeed after an increase in the number of charges for drunkenness brought by the police after the war to a peak of 629 in 1926, there was a steady reduction to 233 in 1937.[138] As early as 1919 a police Inspector was claiming to have visited all the houses in his area on no less than eight occasions and had not encountered a single known prostitute; 'Most creditable', the Bench had remarked.[139] Thus in line with these social changes only a single drinking house, the luckless *William the Conqueror* beerhouse in Silver Street, Southsea, fell foul of the law in the entire inter-war period, in 1924. Two years earlier the then licensee, Mary Whymark, had been heavily fined for selling alcohol outside hours, for harbouring prostitutes and permitting drunkenness. As they were still wont to do, on four consecutive days in April 1923, the police watched the house, and saw what were known as 'unfortunates' entering and leaving. Five unfortunates were found inside, and the licensee did not deny that the women were unfortunates, declaring the reason they were in the house after 10pm was that it was raining heavily outside.[140] Unfortunately even this ingenious excuse was insufficient for a renewed licence.

William the Conqueror may have stood alone, but there is evidence that the old attitudes still survived. The Portsmouth Free Church Council declared itself in 1928 strongly opposed to an application for a licensed house opposite the main gate of Alexandra Park, which 'is the playground for thousands of children and the recreation area for thousands of young men and women on the threshold of manhood and womanhood', on the grounds that it 'would be psychologically disastrous to the children and adolescents of our City.[141] Delphine Stevenson, licensee of *The White House*, Ernest Road, was charged in 1934 with 'unlawful gaming', to wit, 'a football sweep'; the offence was proved but the case was dismissed on payment of 4*s*. costs, hinting at a more liberal attitude on the part of the justices. In one respect it was the police who appeared to be the agents of change, pitting themselves against an indifferent society, for the Chief Constable reported in 1935 that he had carried out an inspection which revealed that in some 155 of the 761 licensed houses[142] the lavatory accommodation was 'totally inadequate and unsuitable'.[143] Attitudes towards the police remained ambivalent. In 1937, Samuel Bannister of the *Cross Keys*, Highbury Street, was fined £5 for harbouring a Constable on licensed premises, even if a charge of supplying alcohol to a Constable on duty was dismissed.

Western, Queen Street. Although at first sight intact, examination of the right hand wall shows some of the damage sustained in the 1941 Blitz. Photographed in March 1944 just before it was demolished. The Blue Anchor was built on the site in 1962.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

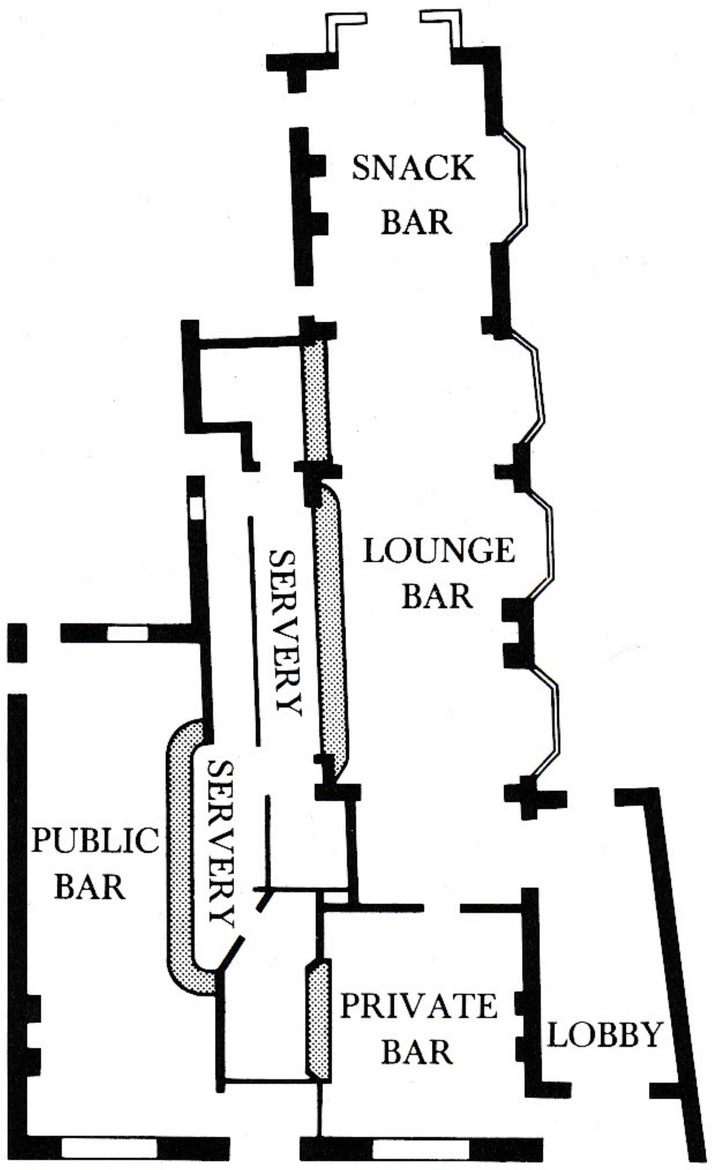
Such evident friendship was manifestly absent in the clash between Reginald Bowring, landlord of *The Lion* beerhouse, Abercrombie Street, and the law; he was fined £1 in 1939 for refusing to admit a Constable on duty. But despite the rival attractions of the cinema, wireless, organised sport and for some, the pleasures of motoring, the local remained at the centre of social life, the pub outing being tangible proof of the camaraderie that existed. The self-consciously posed photographs of groups outside their local about to board a char-à-banc typical of the 1920s had, by the late 1930s, undergone some subtle changes. A shot taken outside *The Red, White and Blue* beerhouse, Fawcett Road, in 1938, depicts a quite noticeably gleeful group, the majority bareheaded, all sporting a buttonhole flower and fronted by an accordion player; the presence of two ladies was probably then regarded as a daring concession.[144] Even household chores could become a social occasion through the medium of the local, for in the 1930s women would regularly come into the bottle and jug at *The Red, White and Blue* and drink a Guinness while peeling potatoes for the family meal.[145]

The Second World War and its Aftermath, 1940-1950

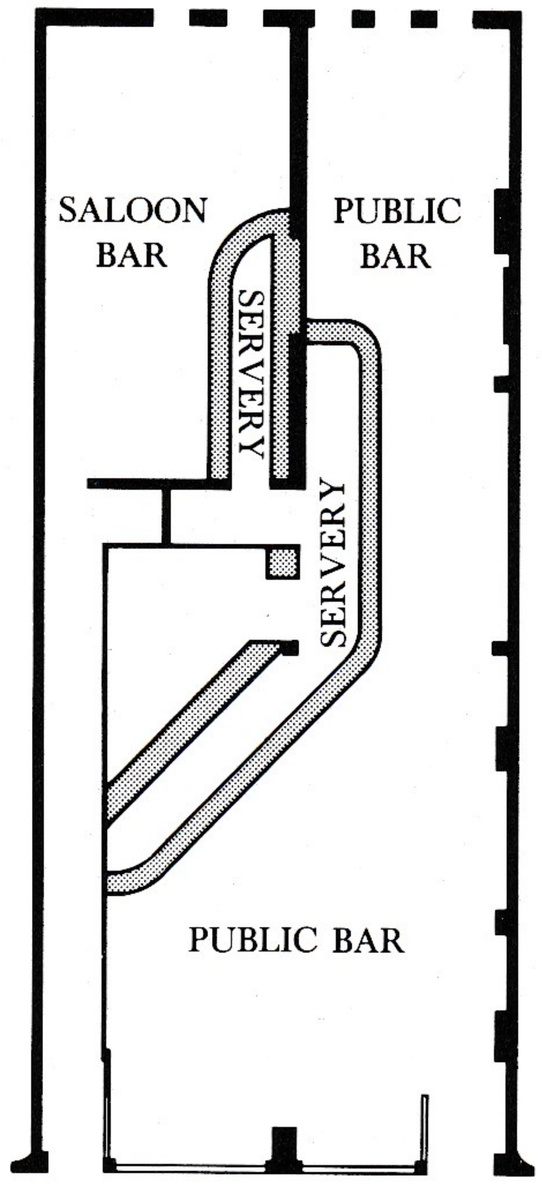
The phrase 'outbreak of hostilities' may have a dramatic ring to it, but September 1939 was not followed by an immediate plunge into devastating air raids and the disruption of civil life. Indeed the evacuation of Dunkirk had not even taken place by the time the 1940 Brewster Sessions were held in February of that year, giving the justices no reason to depart from the practices of the past two decades. The voluntary surrender scheme having faltered, some 18 premises were put forward for possible closure and compensation, of which five were commended to the Compensation Committee. The *Hop Pole*, Buckland Street, and two beerhouses belonging to Long, the *Defender* in Princes Street, and the *Black Eagle* in Maitland Street, were duly closed and compensated. These three were destined to be the last houses closed under the redundancy scheme. In December the brewers were informed of the suspension of the scheme owing to the growing upheaval caused by war damage, and of the decision that no new applications would be entertained in 1941.[146] It can hardly have occasioned great surprise, for an inkling of what might be in store occurred in the early evening of 11 July when in the very first air raid on the city, Cogswell's second public house, *The Blue Anchor* in London Road, was destroyed by a direct hit.[147] A number of licensed houses were lost in the much heavier raids on the 12 and 24 August 1940.[148]

By the occasion of the 1941 Brewster Sessions, some 73 licensed premises had been destroyed, a great deal of damage having been inflicted by what was generally regarded as the worst of all the raids, on 10 January 1941. In the absence of compensation wrangles, helped by the decision to renew all licences and agreement that no summertime extensions would be allowed, the business before them cannot have long delayed the justices. The only substantive matter was the question of the licences of the demolished houses; these would be renewed, although it was admitted that it was doubtful whether their worships were empowered to grant licences for non-existent premises.[149] Understandably the brewers were in favour of the decision since they hoped to rebuild at some time in the future. Words do not easily describe the scenes which faced Portmuthians at this time, and we are fortunate to have the admirable photographic record compiled by the *Evening News*, entitled *Smitten City*, to give an insight into the extent of the destruction. One of the illustrations depicts a few gaunt structures, once buildings, at the corner of Hyde Park Road and Russell Street, facing a remarkably well preserved *Duke of Wellington*. Having packed his mother, who was the licensee of the *'Duke'*, and his sister off to his other sister's house and air raid shelter in Hilsea, when the 'alert' sounded on Saturday 10 January 1941, Sidney Smith then faced the task of manning the place alone. He was fortunate that the single incendiary bomb that fell on the property landed in the outside gents' toilet where it could do no harm. This allowed him to concentrate his efforts on containing the fire that had broken out upstairs following the spread of flames from blazing commercial properties such as Timothy Whites. Since the mains supply had gone he used water from two 6ft galvanised iron baths kept filled for soaking the dart boards. Once this source had been exhausted he turned to the only other liquid one might expect to find in a public house – beer. Whether the stock provided by United had unlooked for fire-extinguishing qualities is not clear, nor is it certain how many 36 gallon barrels Sidney Smith used, but by the liberal application of beer he succeeded in quenching the fire. Before he left the pub he printed the words 'Like the Original Duke, Never Fell in the Field of Battle' on a large piece of paper and hung it from an upstairs window, but the *'Duke'* was never to reopen. Unquestionably without his efforts the *Duke of Wellington* would not have featured on the *Evening News* photograph and would not have been available for use as a local Air Raid Precautions command post; while stocks lasted it must have been a popular locale, for Mr Smith gave permission for counter supplies to be consumed by the new incumbents.[150]

Fig 4. Interior Designs of Houses sited on Rectangular Plots.
Source as Figure 2.

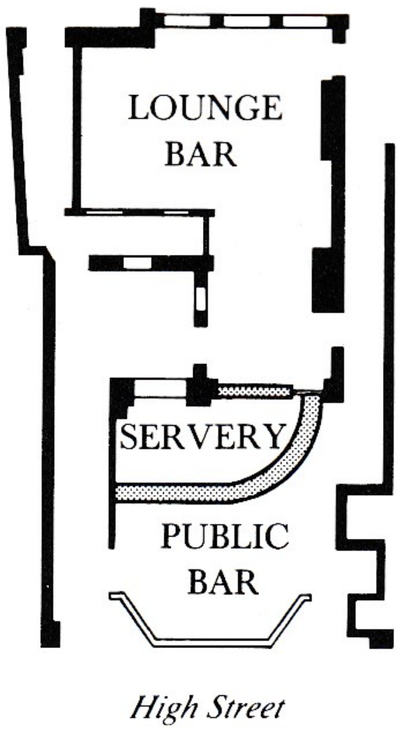


The Clarence Gardens

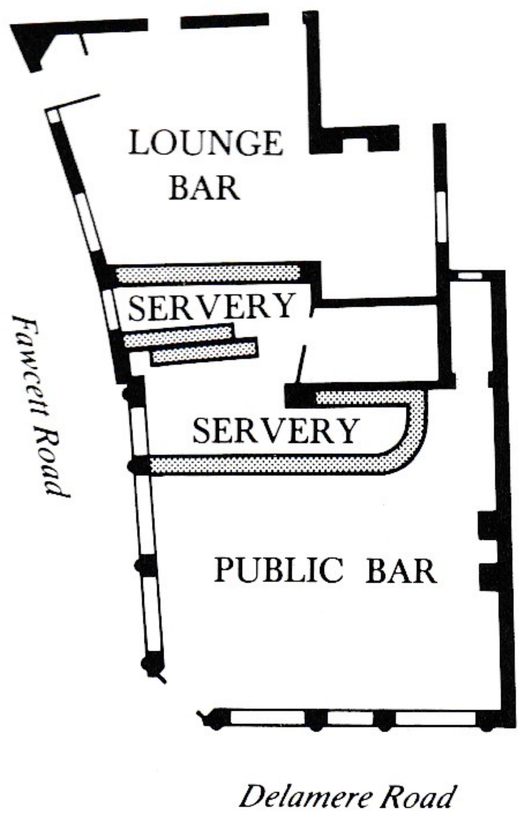


The Albany Hotel

0 16 feet



The Wellington Hotel



The Golden Eagle

American Hotel, Oyster Street, one of the most severely war damaged pubs which was subsequently restored and still trades. Photographed in 1946.
Magistrates' Court Collection.

By the provisions of the 1942 Finance Act, the magistrates' decision to renew licences of premises that had been destroyed was confirmed; in the light of the extreme shortage of materials for reconstruction and of manpower, it was decreed that the licences of such premises could be suspended to avoid the payment of duty and the need for annual renewal, and could be revived at a later date.[151] Luftwaffe raids continued, but fortunately only one, on 10 March 1941, approached the ferocity of the blitz of 10 January. By February 1942 some 106 licensed premises were out of action, with ninety of them totally destroyed.[152] Careful sifting of the evidence shows that some 101 houses – 58 public houses and 43 beerhouses – ceased trading consequent upon war damage. To put this into perspective, bombing succeeded in removing far more public houses than the 30 which the compensation scheme had seen off in the preceding quarter of a century, although not even the temperance lobby would have wished their demise in this fashion. Landport bore the brunt of the onslaught, losing some 40 premises, of which eight alone were in Commercial Road, all too close to the principal target of the Dockyard. Southsea was particularly hard hit with 30 victims mainly in the north-western tip where it abuts Landport, but also including the *Esplanade Hotel* at Clarence Pier, an easy prey to incendiaries since it was largely made of wood at the behest of the Board of Ordnance, whose guns could easily remove it should it prove necessary, and the *Bush Hotel* in Elm Grove.[153] Despite its proximity to the Dockyard, Portsea lost only 21 houses, but not only was the area small, but it had suffered considerably under the ravages of compensation. The demise of so many of its beerhouses prior to the air raids meant that few remained to be destroyed; in practice only four met this end. Ironically two Portsea beerhouses, the *Dockyard Tavern* and the *Old House at Home*, both in Marlborough Row, were lost not through enemy action, but as a result of the 1942 Dockyard extension calculated to assist efforts in defeating the enemy. A similar imbalance obtained in Old Portsmouth. Of the ten houses lost, itself testimony to the changing nature of the parish, only two were beerhouses, but among the public houses were some of the oldest in the city: the *Old Blue Posts* in Broad Street,[154] the *George Hotel*, and the *Duke of Buckingham*, both in the High Street.

Against the background of such destruction, the appearance of seven new licensed premises during the war represented a mere trifle; moreover, their impact was in one sense reduced since, with one exception, they were not new buildings, and their licences were transferred from war damaged properties. In 1942 the *Esplanade Hotel*,[155] South Parade, a terraced house by the Southsea architect Thomas Ellis Owen, was granted the licence from the devasted building of the same name at Clarence Pier. In the same year the licence from the bombed *Horse and Jockey*, Marlborough Row, was transferred to the *White Lodge*, Southsea Terace, which had been owned by Longs since 1905, for many years being the home of George Keeping, Long's Company Secretary.[156] The *Westfield Hotel*,[157] in Clarence Parade, received the licence from the *Newtown Tavern*, Commercial Road, in 1943. In a variation of the pre-existing use the licence for the *Old Excellent* beerhouse, Thomas Street, was moved to *The Palmerston*, Palmerston Road, premises which had formerly been a shop.[158] *Apsley House*, Auckland Road, was authorised to trade as a beerhouse in 1944, having formerly been a private house and then a school; in this case the origin of the licence was the *Royal Albert* beerhouse, King's Road.[159] It is noticeable that these were located in Southsea, and that, *The Palmerston* and *Apsley House* apart, they were hotels located on what was effectively Southsea's sea front. Conceivably this was a reflection of an increase in demand for such drinking facilities by the armed forces whose numbers greatly increased at this time. The exception to these trends, in more ways than one, was *The Monckton* in Copnor Road. Constructed in 1942, and employing a beerhouse licence transferred from the *Dockyard Tavern*, Marlborough Row (which had been enveloped by the Dockyard extension), this single storey, flat-roofed little house with tiny windows, gave the appearance of a military pill box, and indeed wartime building regulations probably ensured that it cost no more to build. The site had been bought by United Breweries in 1911, and remarkably, in the light of the *ersatz* nature of the ultimate construction, the first application for a licence in 1928 was backed by a design from Cogswell himself. Four subsequent unsuccessful applications between 1929 and 1939 can hardly have presaged what was arguably Portsmouth's most distinctive drinking house until its closure in 1982.[160]

The diminution of air raids and the feeling that the tide was turning may have been behind the considerable emphasis in the Chief Constable's report for 1943 upon the moral danger of under-age drinking,[161] but the fact remains that immediately after the war the visual, and indeed, material deterioration of Portsmouth's drinking houses must have exercised minds more than the age-old crusade. A good number of houses having had their ground floor windows blown out, and not being able to replace them with original-sized glass, had been obliged to install wooden boarding with a mere suspicion of glass in the centre, giving the appearance of peep holes, or

Abercrombie Arms, Abercrombie Street. A beerhouse rebuilt in 1911, probably by J. J. Cotton, it escaped being made redundant only to be destroyed in the 1941 Blitz.
Whitbread Archive Collection.

machine gun ports. The contrast between the fine architecture of, say *The White Swan*, Commercial Road, or *The Talbot*, Goldsmith Avenue, and these windows, some of which were no more than letter box in dimension, was vivid. It must have been difficult to believe the ornate, Cogswell-style lettering at *The Diamond*, King Street, Southsea: 'Importer and Blender of British and Foreign Wines Spirits and Liqueurs', in the light of the drab display below. The licensee of *The Middleton*, Middle Street, entrepreneurially minded, had hung notices proclaiming 'meat pies' and 'snacks' in such window space remaining to him. In some cases, as at *The King's Arms*, Green Road, there was no compromise and windows were simply boarded up. Paint was peeling off *The Dorchester Arms*, Thomas Street, giving it the impression of having participated in a gun battle; this condition was so advanced at *The Ashburton Arms,* Church Road, that advertising had become illegible, while weeds, some in flower, flourished in front of the wood panelling. A number of houses like *The Yorkshire Grey* bore the large painted letters 'SWS', that is, 'Static Water Supply' as a guide to the firefighting service, but no signs were required to explain the condition of some premises. At the Camber Dock the *American Hotel* had all its upper windows boarded up, and corrugated iron filled the entire space between the masonry piers on the ground floor. In St George's Square, *St George's Commercial Hotel* was still valiantly carrying on, having lost its upper floors, which had been replaced by a flat roof; some of the remaining ground floor windows had simply been concreted over, but signs of life were evident in the beer crates and barrels stacked up outside. The destruction of neighbouring properties gave surviving narrow houses both a forlorn and unsafe aspect, seeming to be too slim to withstand the next gale, but the rationale for the construction of a wooden shed-like structure in front of the entrance to *The Market House Tavern*, Commercial Road, is unclear.[162]

Whatever the exigencies of wartime living, drinking houses continued to tread their traditional fine line between the licit and the illicit. The £5 fine levied in 1943 against Elsie Burgess, landlady of the *Engineers' Arms* beerhouse, Railway View, was unusual since it involved a Special Constable, a wartime appointment, rather than her action in causing him to remain on the premises while on duty. Food and other shortages gave rise to what was known as the 'black market', and to healthy but illegal profits, as Charles Hurdle, landlord of the *Fort Cumberland Tavern*, Eastney Road, discovered in 1944. He was found guilty of obtaining soap without a ration document and fined 21 guineas and two guineas costs.[163] Trafficking in petrol must have been relatively lucrative, and of the numerous landlords whose operations fell foul of the law, the case of Ethelbert Stratford, of *The Monckton* beerhouse, Copnor Road, was typical; he was found to have amassed a cache of eight gallons of petrol and was fined £10 for his pains. Shortages were not confined to the war years (food rationing continued until the early 1950s) and the problem was reflected in the prosecution of publicans. Edgar Ricketts of *The Ophir* beerhouse, Stamford Street, was convicted in 1947 on four charges of selling biscuits above the maximum permitted price and fined £7 with two guineas costs, while William Jeram of *The Camden*, Queen Street, was fined the very considerable sum of £60 in 1948 for being in possession of beef not purchased through Ministry of Food channels.

The destruction of so many of their properties, coupled with optimism about the eventual outcome of the war, led the Portsmouth brewers as early as 1942 to discuss the situation that might obtain at the end of hostilities.[164] The Home Office, however, was predictably more cautious and it was not until 1944 that the advisory committee's report on war damaged premises was published. The ensuing Licensing Planning Act of 1945 allowed for creation of Licensing Planning Areas and of planning committees composed of representatives of the licensing justices and local planning authorities.[165] The local brewers lost no time in setting up an advisory delegation to the Portsmouth Licensing Planning Committee,[166] for quite apart from their obvious vested interest, the matter of the 106 suspended licenses was clearly a weighty issue. With an eye on the proposed new housing development at Paulsgrove, through the Portsmouth Brewers' Association they proposed the transfer of 10, and subsequently 12, licences of defunct properties to the new suburb. This proved to be decidedly optimistic, and at length in late 1949

the Licensing Planning Committee agreed to the transfer of only six licences.[167] In practice the issue of the suspended licenses was largely resolved in the following decade, when full licences were transferred to new houses, for example at Leigh Park, or to beerhouses, or were reactivated on site when properties were rebuilt.[169] Beer-house licences were surrendered or given up for the grant of full licences, thereby continuing the practice initiated in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Equally optimistically in 1947, the Brewers' Association tabled proposals for the Palmerston Road area, for which planners, fired by the opportunity for fashioning new roads and buildings from wartime rubble, were pressing for a new north-south road from the western end of Merton Road to Clarendon Road at its junction with Brandon Road. Under the scheme four beerhouses and three public houses were to be closed, three public houses were to be retained, and five new houses were to be constructed.[169] In practice the new road was never built, undermining the case for some of the changes, but since the beerhouses lingered on to receive full licences in the 1950s[170], it must be assumed that the Brewers' Association's thinking was frustrated. Nevertheless, one new public house did emerge; in 1953 *The Cambridge Hotel*, Portland Road, replaced the temporary *Cambridge Stockrooms* and was claimed to be the first new post-war public house on the south coast.[171]

The immediate post-war period saw the beginning of a process which brought to an end that curiosity in the British drinking scene, the beerhouse. Their numbers reduced by the compensation scheme, and battered by air raids, beerhouses were finally ended by the provisions of the 1947 Finance Act which empowered the justices to accept the surrender of a beerhouse licence for a full licence in the same area at a reduced monopoly value. Once again beerhouses were used as sacrificial pawns, but at the same time many were converted to full licence status. The year 1948 saw *The Shepherd's Crook*, and *The Palmerston*, Palmerston Road, becoming public houses. The following year the *Clarendon Tavern,* Clarendon Road, and the *Milton Arms*, Milton Road, followed suit, as did six

beerhouses in 1950: *The Royal Exchange*, Fawcett Road, *Highland House* and *Three Marines* in Highland Road, *The Painters' Arms*, Lake Road, *The Great Western*, Commercial Road, and *The Old Oyster House*, Locksway Road. During the ensuing decade and a half no less than 131 beerhouses that had begun life in the nineteenth century received spirit licences[172] allowing them to compete for custom more fairly, even if ironically the great majority were to close by the early 1980s.

However much the first half of the twentieth century was a period of transition between the undeniably boisterous years of the previous era and the comparatively sedate present-day drinking milieu, the urban public house, more than any other aspect of nineteenth century retailing, stands as a physical reminder of social life at that time. Galbraith's affluent society may have reduced the significance of the 'pub' to working communities, but as late as the inter-war period it was centre stage in the drama played out between political and social lobbies. Without in any way excusing the havoc caused by the Luftwaffe, perhaps the demise of so many licensed premises in the early 1940s merely anticipated the social changes which came to transform Portsmouth's streetscape two decades later.

The Monckton, Copnor Road. Arguably the City's most unusual drinking house its architecture reflecting the war-time need for economy; it was built and opened in 1942. Photographed in 1946.
Magistrates' Court Collection.

The Diamond, King Street, photographed in 1946 with its war-time fenestration still intact.
Magistrates' Court Collection.

St Georges Hotel, St George's Square, decapitated, scarred and minus some ground floor windows, but continuing to dispense cheer, which it did until closure in 1955. Photographed on 6 June 1944.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

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Many years have elapsed since the authors started gathering the data which has been distilled into this paper. Throughout that period the authors have enjoyed the fullest cooperation from the staff of both Portsmouth City Records Office and Portsmouth Central Library. Numerous individuals deserve our thanks for their various contributions to our endeavours, but we would wish to acknowledge the particular help given by the following people: Margaret West of the Portsmouth Magistrates' Court for invaluable assistance with the provision of photographic material; David Miles of Whitbread Trading South, and Bryce Silk formerly of Whitbread Wessex, for access to Whitbread's deed store; Margaret Beddoes of *The News*, for the provision of documentary evidence; Bill Johnson and Rosemary Shearer of the Cartographic Unit, Portsmouth Polytechnic, for drawing the map and interior bar plans; Roger Homer also of Portsmouth Polytechnic, for his photographic skills; Nick Redman, Company Archivist, for permission to use photographs from the Whitbread Archive collection.

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Philip Eley runs his own computer programming business in Gosport, occasionally finding time to indulge in his hobby of local history. His predilection for research on Portsmouth's breweries and pubs has resulted in Portsmouth Papers entitled *Portsmouth Breweries 1492-1847* and (jointly with Dr Riley) *Public Houses and Beerhouses in Nineteenth Century Portsmouth.* He has recently contributed an article on Brickwood's Brewery to the Brewery History Society for whom he is the south-east Hampshire archivist.

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APPENDIX

Work by A. E. Cogswell on Licensed Premises 1900-31.

Name	Location	Date	Brewer	Remarks	
Borough Arms	St Paul's Road	1900	Brickwood	Rebuild	Now *Old Vic*
Gloucester	St George's Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Rebuild	Now *Mary Rose*
Mermaid	New Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Alterations	
Ship Tavern	Church Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Alterations	Shut 1968
Pompey Hotel	Frogmore Road	1900	Brickwood	New	
Graham Arms	George Street	1900	Gibb	New	
Harlequin	Fyning Street	1901	Gale	Alterations	Shut 1968
India Arms	Great Southsea Street	1901	Gale	Alterations	
Ship and Castle	Hard	1902	Gale	Alterations	
Newcombe Arms	Newcombe Road	1902	Pike Spicer	Alterations	
Tramway Arms	Kingston Road	1903	United	Alterations	Shut 1982
Camden	Queen Street	1904	Pike Spicer	Alterations	Shut 1976
Mediterranean	Stamshaw Road	1904	United	Rebuild	Shut 1978
Wheatsheaf	Hyde Park Road	1904	United	Rebuild	Shut 1954
Still	Kent Street	1905	Pike Spicer	Rebuild	Shut 1978
Great Western	Commercial Road	1906	United	Alterations	Shut 1972
Newtown Tavern	Commercial Road	1906	United	Rebuild	Bombed 1941
Eastfield Hotel	Prince Albert Street	1906	Coffin	New	
White House	Ernest Road	1906	United	New	Shut 1982
Shakespeare's Head	Charles Street	1906	Gale	Alterations	Bombed 1941
Suffolk Arms	Commercial Road	1907	Kingsbury	Alterations	Now *Martha's*
Black Lion	Milton Road	1908	Peters	Alterations	Now *Traveller's Joy*
Western Hotel	St James's Street	1908	Pike Spicer	Alterations	Bombed 1941
Mile End Tavern	Commercial Road	1908	Pike Spicer	Tile front	Bombed 1941
Coach and Horses	Hilsea	1908	United	New bar	Rebuilt 1931
Duke of Cornwall	Lake Road	1909	United	New front	Shut 1967
New Inn	Belgrave Street	1910	United	New front	Shut 1918
Albany Hotel	Commercial Road	1911	United	Alterations	Now *Mighty Fine*
Victoria Tavern	Commercial Road	1912	Brickwood	Alterations	Shut 1914
Tangier	Tangier Road	1912	United	New	
Shepherd's Crook	Goldsmith Avenue	1914	United	New	
Royal Naval Arms	Queen Street	1916	Brickwood	Rebuild	Shut 1976
Hyde Park Tavern	Hyde Park Road	1921	Brickwood	Alterations	Bombed 1941
Ship Anson	Hard	1922	Brickwood	Rebuild	
Mars	Church Path North	1923	Brickwood	Rebuild	
George and Dragon	Kingston Road	1923	Brickwood	New	
Florist	Fratton Road	1923	Brickwood	Rebuild	
King and Queen	Hard	1924	Blake	Rebuild	Now part of *Ship Anson*
Barley Mow	Castle Road	1924	Brickwood	Alterations	
Star and Garter	Copnor Road	1925	United	New	
Harvest Home	Copnor Road	1925	Brickwood	Garden Room	
Penhale Arms	Fratton Road	1926	Brickwood	Rebuild	Shut 1981
Coach and Horses	London Road	1931	United	Rebuild	

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[1] R. C. Riley and Philip Eley, *Public Houses and Beerhouses in Nineteenth Century Portsmouth*, The P(ortsmouth) P(apers), No. 38, 1983, 29pp.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.3.

[3] J. J. Young and Son Ltd. was under the control of wine merchants George Peters & Co. Ltd. from 1914, but continued as a separate company until both were acquired by Friary Meux Ltd., Guildford, in 1959.

[4] The *Fratton Hotel* was built partly on the site of the *Queen's Head* beerhouse which was surrendered.

[5] *P(ortsmouth) T(imes)*, 24 Aug. 1901. The site eventually secured a licence in 1911 as *The Tangier*.

[6] Mark Girouard, *Victorian Pubs*, 1975, p.64.

[7] *P.T.*, 14 Feb. 1903.

[8] *P.T.*, 7 Mar. 1903.

[9] *P.T.*, 23 Feb. 1907.

[10] *P.T.*, 23 Mar. 1907.

[11] *P.T.*, 5 Mar. 1904.

[12] *P.T.*, 13 Feb. 1904.

[13] P(ortsmouth) C(ity) R(ecords) O(ffice), 412A/7/2.

[14] *P.T.*, 16 Feb. 1907.

[15] G. R. Hill and S. E. Majors, *Paterson's Licensing Acts*, 26th ed., 1916, p.9.

[16] An indication of the difference between the licensed and unlicensed value of houses may be judged from the case of the *Caulkers' Arms*, Brighton Street, which in 1907 brought Biden £1,684 in compensation, yet which was sold in the same year for £206. P.C.R.O., 412A/1/8, p.4.

[17] D. M. Knox, The Development of the Tied House System in London, *Oxford Economic Papers*, X, 1958, p.81.

[18] *P.T.*, 27 Apr. 1907.

[19] H.A.Monkton, *A History of the English Public House*, 1969, p.111.

[20] *P.T.*, 23 Apr. 1904.

[21] The *modus operandi* exhibited much variation as between licensing authorities; in 1906 in Southampton, for example, the magistrates asked brewers to provide a list of premises suitable for compensastion. Southampton Civic Record Office, SC/MAG 5/1.

[22] *P.T.*, 10 Feb. 1906.

[23] The average payment was £14 2*s*. 0*d*. for a public house, £5 0*s*. 10*d*. for a beerhouse and £15 5*s*. 0*d*. for a beer and wine establishment. *P.T.*, 14 Jan. 1905.

[24] *P.T.*, 25 Feb. 1905.

[25] Under the 1904 Act the maximum term for a new licence was seven years.

[26] P.C.R.O., 412A/7/11.

[27] Cotton worked for Long's for more than 40 years, taking up his appointment in 1893. *E(vening) N(ews)*, 23 Feb. 1933.

[28] *P.T.*, 3 Mar. 1906.

[29] *P.T.*, 20 Feb. 1909.

[30] *P.T.*, 11 Mar. 1911.

[31] The design of the tiles, by Carters of Poole, supposedly stem from a holiday taken in Morocco by the chairman of Portsmouth United Breweries, Sir William Dupree. The road (and thus the pub) took its name from Tangier Farm, situated adjacent to Baffin's Pond.

[32] *P.T.*, 18 May 1907.

[33] *P.T.*, 24 Feb. 1906.

[34] *P.T.*, 26 Jan. 1907.

[35] *P.T.*, 9 Oct. 1910.

[36] *P.T.*, 2 Apr. 1913.

[37] *P.T.*, 20 Jan. 1912.

[38] By some 272 votes to 96.

[39] James Bayes, 'When 32,000 Taverns were Threatened with Extinction', *E.N.*, 6 Mar. 1964.

[40] Haldane was the Secretary of State for War.

[41] Lion Brewery spent £1,300 in 1908 on rebuilding *The Polar Star P.T.*, 19 Feb. 1910.

[42] *P.T.*, 12 Feb. 1910.

[43] In 1901 there were 73,784 public houses and 29,064 beerhouses in Great Britain. See George B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation; a contribution to the Study of the Liquor Problem in the UK 1800-1935*, 1940, p.236. As Table 1 shows, the situation was reversed in Portsmouth.

[44] J. L. Field, *The Battle of Southsea*, P.P. No. 34, 1981.

[45] Now *The White House*.

[46] *P.T.*, 5 Mar. 1904.

[47] *P.T.*, 5 Mar. 1910.

[48] James Bayes, 'The General Placed 120 Pompey Inns out of Bounds', *E.N.*, 1964. P(ortsmouth) C(entral) L(ibrary) cuttings collection, N.D.

[49] Latterly the *Mighty Fine*.

[50] *P.T.*, 13 Feb. 1914.

[51] *P.T.*, 6 Mar. 1914.

[52] *P.T.*, 20 Feb. 1907.

[53] *P.T.*, 6 Mar. 1914.

[54] *P.T.*, 23 Sep. 1911.

[55] *P.T.*, 12 Feb. 1910.

[56] *P.T.*, 5 Mar. 1910.

[57] *P.T.*, 15 May. 1909.

[58] D. M. Knox *op. cit.* p.82. The provisions of the Act saw the duty payable on *The White Swan* rise from £35 to £100; see *P.T.* 5 Nov. 1910. In Portsmouth as a whole the duty rose from £8,909 to £28,712; see *P.T.*, 12 Nov. 1910.

[59] P.C.R.O., 412A/2/19.

[60] *P.T.*, 17 Dec. 1910.

[61] Permission was granted for its rebuilding; see *P.T.*, 13 Feb. 1914.

[62] *P.T.*, 10 Feb. 1906.

[63] *H(ampshire) T(elegraph)*, 20 Feb. 1908.

[64] *P.T.*, 20 May 1913.

[65] *P.T.*, 15 Feb. 1913.

[66] Better known then, as now, as *Martha's*.

[67] Now the *Traveller's Joy*.

[68] *P.T.*, 30 May 1908, 14 Nov. 1908.

[69] The licence for *The White House* was transferred from the *White House*, South Road, which had a back entrance in Ernest Road.

[70] Further details may be inspected in Council Minutes, P.C.L.

[71] *P.T.*, 9 Feb. 1907.

[72] *P.T.*, 13 Mar. 1909.

[73] The actual closure figures were: 1915-19 33; 1920-24 29; 1925-29 38; 1930-34 34; 1935-39 46.

[74] Hill and Majors, *op. cit.*, p.21.

[75] William G. Gates, *Portsmouth in the Great War*, The Evening News and Hampshire Telegraph Co., 1919, p.97. The Defence of the Realm Act provided that 'The competent naval or military authorities may by order require all premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor within or in the neighbourhood of any defended harbour to be closed except during such hours as may be specified in that order'. See Monkton, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

[76] *P.T.*, 5 Mar. 1915.

[77] *P.T.*, 9 Apr. 1915.

[78] *P.T.*, 7 May 1915.

[79] P(ortsmouth) B(rewers') A(ssociation), Minute Book, 7 Apr. 1916. P.C.R.O., 544A/3/1.

[80] *Ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1917.

[81] *P.T.*, 10 Mar. 1916.

[82] *P.T.*, 9 Apr. 1915.

[83] Sir John served on the Parliamentary sub-committee of the Brewer's Society.

[84] P.B.A., 1 Mar. 1917.

[85] *P.T.*, 22 Feb. 1918.

[86] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p.236.

[87] Many licensees reported this phenomenon at the 1917 Licensing Sessions. See *P.T.*, 23 Feb. 1917.

[88] Gates, *op. cit.*, p.97.

[89] *P.T.*, 11 Feb. 1916.

[90] *P.T.*, 1 June 1917.

[91] Gates, *op. cit.*, p.98.

[92] *P.T.*, 19 Feb. 1915.
[93] *P.T.*, 12 Oct. 1917.
[94] *P.T.*, 11 Feb. 1916, 10 Mar. 1916. Whatever the final value set, these figures were typical.
[95] *P.T.*, 23 Feb. 1917.
[96] *P.T.*, 9 Feb. 1917.
[97] *P.T.*, 6 Oct. 1916.
[98] *P.T.*, 8 Feb. 1918.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *P.T.*, 23 Feb. 1917.
[101] *P.T.*, 12 Apr. 1918.
[102] *P.T.*, 23 Feb. 1917.
[103] *P.T.*, 26 Feb. 1915.
[104] *P.T.*, 30 Sep. 1921.
[105] *H.T.*, 8 Feb. 1924.
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *H.T.*, 6 Feb. 1925.
[108] P.B.A., 24 Jan. 1927.
[109] *H.T.*, 10 Feb. 1928.
[110] Acquired by Brickwood in 1950, it became the *Golden Hind* in 1961.
[111] *H.T.*, 10 Feb. 1928.
[112] This was a case of a Corporation initiated slum clearance programme.
[113] The provisional licence was renewed each year until the mid-1950s. Plans of this and other unsuccessful applications can be seen in P.C.R.O. 114A/C2/13/1 *et seq.*
[114] *H.T.*, 6 Feb. 1920.
[115] *Brick Builder,* June 1939, p.32, cited by Robert Elwell, *Bricks and Beer. English Pub Architecture 1830-1939,* p.46.
[116] *Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing,* HMSO, 1932, p.45, cited in Basil Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House,* Faber & Faber, 1947, p.23.
[117] Elwell, *op. cit.*, p.13.
[118] Now *The Landmark.*
[119] The stone has subsequently been painted in this, as in many other instances.
[120] Now *Harry Limes.*
[121] Mr Sydney McDermott, landlord of the *Lamb and Flag,* Arundel Street, in the 1920s, recalls that the bottle and jug was often used by drinkers who for various reasons did not want their presence advertised. To avoid speaking, orders were given in mime. *E.N.*, 16 Nov. 1963.
[122] Now *The George.*
[123] Now *The Sirloin of Beef.*
[124] In this case the design dates from the immediate post-war period rather than the 1930s.
[125] For comment on the disposition of bar counters in the 1890s see Fred Gardiner, 'The Pubs of Victorian Portsmouth', unpub. dissertation, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1980, pp.15-19.
[126] *P.T.*, 21 Jan. 1921 and *E.N.*, 15 Jan. 1940.
[127] *E.N.*, 23 May 1936.
[128] Brickwood had acquired all of the shares in Blake & Co. in 1927, when brewing ceased, but the company, renamed Blake's Properties Ltd., continued to exist and Blake's houses were leased to Brickwood. This explains the retention of the brewer's name for many years after the change of ownership.
[129] P.B.A., 9 Apr. 1929.
[130] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct. 1929.
[131] *Ibid.*, 22 Jan. 1932; 29 Jan. 1932.
[132] *E.N.*, 22 Feb. 1933.
[133] P.B.A., 13 Dec. 1934.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] *E.N.*, 13 Feb. 1937. By this time Brickwood had become even more powerful having acquired Long in 1933 on the same basis as Blake.
[136] *E.N.*, 22 Feb. 1939.
[137] The change may of course reflect newspaper reporting practice.
[138] The data refer to the number of charges. A good number of cases were dismissed – some 199, or 32%, in 1926 – but the assumption is made that the ratio of charges to dismissals is constant.
[139] *P.T.*, 7 Feb. 1919.
[140] *P.T.*, 8 Feb. 1924.
[141] *E.N.*, 8 Feb. 1928.
[142] Including 191 off-licences.
[143] *E.N.*, 6 Feb. 1935.
[144] We are grateful to Margaret Beddoes for bringing this photograph to our attention.
[145] *The News,* 11 Oct. 1979.
[146] P.B.A., 10 Dec. 1940.
[147] *The Blue Anchor* was erroneously stated to be Cogswell's first public house by the present authors in their earlier paper; this accolade belongs to the *Fratton Railway Hotel*, Claremont Road.
[148] *Smitten City: The Story of Portsmouth in the Air Raids* 1940-1944, Evening News, 1945. p.5.
[149] *E.N.*, 5 Feb. 1941.
[150] Letter from Mr Sidney H. Smith to Mrs Margaret Beddoes, 18 July 1981.
[151] J. N. Martin (Ed), *Paterson's Licensing Acts,* 95th ed., 1987, p.11.
[152] *E.N.*, 24 Feb. 1942.
[153] Two other hotels, the *Royal Pier,* Southsea Terrace, and the *Grosvenor,* Western Parade, were taken over by the military authorities, and, although not destroyed, never took up their licences again after the war.
[154] This pub had been rebuilt in the 1870s, but the earlier house was of some antiquity.
[155] Now *Fanshawes.*
[156] This house became the *White Horse Inn* in 1950 and is now known as *Langtry's.*
[157] *The Jolly Sailor* since 1960.
[158] *The Palmerston* received a full licence in 1948; its name was changed to *Owen's Southsea* in 1981.
[159] A full licence was granted in 1953.
[160] Other licences transferred from war-damaged houses were: from the *Royal Stag,* Gold Street, in 1940 to the *Victoria*, Surrey Street which formerly held a 6-day spirit licence; and from the *Bedford in Chase*, Hard, to *Kimbell's Cafe,* Osborne Road in 1943. *The Cambridge Hotel,* Palmerston Road was authorised in 1946 to carry out business as usual in its nearby stockrooms.
[161] *E.N.*, 2 Feb. 1944.
[162] *City of Portsmouth; Photographs of Licensed Houses,* 1946. Portsmouth Magistrates' Court. This is an outstandingly valuable collection of photographs; every house is located on large scale maps.
[163] One guinea equals £1.1*s.*
[164] P.B.A., 13 June 1942.
[165] Martin, *op. cit.*, p.11.
[166] P.B.A., memoranda, 14 Dec. 1945.
[167] *Ibid.* memo no. 12, 14 Dec. 1949.
[168] Instances of rebuilt houses are: *Admiralty Tavern,* Spring Street, rebuilt in 1962 but demolished in 1987; *Duke of Buckingham,* High Street, rebuilt in 1969; *Elephant and Castle,* Sultan Road, rebuilt 1959; *Monarch,* Commercial Road, rebuilt 1961 as *The Crown*, closed in 1976; *Old Red House,* Fratton Road, rebuilt 1959 as *The Unicorn; Priory Inn,* Victoria Road North, rebuilt 1957; and *Western Hotel,* Queen Street, rebuilt 1962 as *The Blue Anchor.*
[169] P.B.A. memo no. 6, 1 July 1947.
[170] The beerhouses were: *The Gordon Tavern* and *The Blacksmiths' Arms* in Lennox Road North; *Lord Napier* (now the *Marmion Tavern*) Marmion Road; the *Palmerston,* Palmerston Road.
[171] Portsmouth and Brighton United Breweries Ltd., *Annual Accounts,* 1953, p.11. It was also the last house built for United Breweries, as they merged with Brickwoods in the same year.
[172] The last beerhouse to be granted a full licence was the *Hawke St Tap,* Hawke Street, in September 1963, whilst the last beerhouse trading as such was the *Victory,* Charlotte Street, which closed in May 1964.

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